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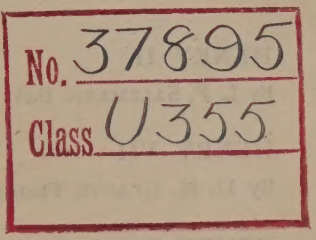

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HENRY VI

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND ACCESSION

On the Feast of St. Nicholas, 6 December, 1421, at the royal castle of Windsor, a son was born to King Henry V and his wife Katherine of Valois, daughter of Charles VI of France. The infant was named Henry after his illustrious father, whom he was destined to resemble neither in character nor fortune.

Henry V was besieging the town of Meaux when the news of his son's birth reached him, and he received it with "humble rejoicing and devout exultation," his joy being shared by the English army when the tidings became known. The King immediately wrote to Queen Katherine exhorting her, when she received his letter, "as soon as she suitably could, to hear devoutly a Mass of the Blessed Trinity and dedicate the newly born Prince to Almighty God, humbly praying that his ways and actions should be directed in happy succession to the honour and glory of God; all of which things were fulfilled in their entirety by his most devout queen." [1]

Historians of the following century, probably unduly

[1] Elmham, *Vita et Gesta Henrici V*, 322.

influenced by subsequent events, relate that Henry V had particularly expressed a desire that his son should not be ushered into the world at Windsor, for some reason believing it to be unpropitious, and that he was much distressed when he heard that it had been so, for "whether he fantaysed some olde blind prophecie, or else judged of his sonnes fortune, he sayde to the Lorde Fitz Hugh his Chamberleyn these wordes. My Lorde, I Henry born at Monmouth shall small time reigne and get much: And Henry borne at Wyndsore shall long reigne and loose all." [1] The authenticity of this tale, however, is far from being well established.

At the little Prince's christening the godfathers were Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, half-brother of Henry IV, and John, Duke of Bedford, the elder of King Henry's brothers. The godmother was Jacqueline of Holland, a lady who had recently left her husband, the Duke of Brabant, and had taken refuge at the English Court, where she was attracting the attention of the Duke of Gloucester. She had perhaps gained the special friendship of Queen Katherine; otherwise there seems little reason for this somewhat odd choice. At the confirmation of the infant, which followed closely upon the christening, Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, stood godfather.

Early in 1422 Katherine began to make preparations for rejoining her husband in France, and in May,

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 108.

when the little Henry was five months old, she went down to Southampton, and, accompanied by the Duke of Bedford and a small body of troops, embarked on the 12th of that month. Apparently the infant Prince was left at home, for no mention is made of him in the documents dealing with the escort and supplies for the Queen's journey; nor in the detailed accounts of Katherine's doings in France is there any indication of his being presented to his father or his grandparents, events which would hardly have been passed over in silence. Katherine and Bedford landed at Harfleur and proceeded to Rouen, from whence the Queen went to meet her parents, the King and Queen of France, at Bois de Vincennes. On 25 May she was joined there by her husband, and both monarchs with their queens entered Paris to keep Whitsuntide.

The little Prince Henry, thus abandoned by his parents, was not destined to live in peaceful obscurity for long. The cares of royalty descended early upon the unfortunate infant. His father Henry was already in bad health, and worn out, though yet young, by illness and hard campaigning, was forced to take to his bed in July. He was carried back to the castle of Vincennes, where he died on 31 August, 1422, leaving France half won and England exposed to the perils of a long minority.

Henry VI, then within a week of completing his ninth month, began his long and troublous reign on 1 September, for at that time it was not considered

that the new King succeeded the moment that his predecessor had drawn his last breath.[1]

At the end of October or early in November, the funeral cortège of Henry V, accompanied by the widowed Katherine and the Duke of Exeter, landed in England and proceeded towards London, where on 7 November "the body of the same worthy Kyng Henry the Vth was worshipfully entered at Westminster with all maner off solempnyte as to that was apparteyning."[2] This done, the infant King was doubtless restored to his mother.

Henry V on his death-bed had given instructions as to how affairs were to be carried on after his death and during the minority of his son. In France, he directed, if the Duke of Burgundy advanced any claim to the Regency, it would be well that he should not be opposed. Otherwise he wished the office to be assumed by his elder brother John, Duke of Bedford —as indeed it was.

His younger brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who during the absence of the King in France had been acting as warden of the realm at home, was to be confirmed in that office.[3] This appointment seems

[1] Henry V died on 31 October, but his son did not officially begin his reign until the following day. See *Hist. Collection of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), p. 149; Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 591; *Chronicon Anglicae de regnis trium regum Lancastrensium* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. p. 3.

[2] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 75.

[3] The two French chroniclers, Waurin and Le Fèvre, state that the Duke of Exeter was named by Henry for the rule of England, but this does not seem to have been the case.

to point to Henry's absorption in the conquest of France, for Gloucester was in many ways an unsuitable man to be entrusted with the delicate task of governing a somewhat disturbed country during a long minority. Bedford would have been the right man for this post, as the Council evidently thought, but, since he was required in France, England had to take the risk of Gloucester's unwise administration.

The guardianship of his infant son Henry seems to have been entrusted to the old Duke of Exeter, Thomas Beaufort,[1] half-brother of Henry IV, and he was to be assisted in his duties by Lord Fitz-Hugh and Sir Walter Hungerford.

The three Dukes upon whom the chief conduct of affairs thus devolved were of widely differing characters. The Duke of Bedford, one of the finest personalities produced by the House of Lancaster, was aged thirty-three at the time of his brother Henry's death. Possessed of all that monarch's good qualities without his brilliance, he was for that very reason a more reliable character, and was indeed looked up to and respected by all as a thoroughly trustworthy and serious statesman. He was possessed of a high sense of public duty, and quickly earned the respect of the French by the justice and comparative humanity of his administration in their land. Being above personal rivalries, he was able to act as a wholesome

[1] Waurin and another chronicler say the Earl of Warwick, but this may be a confusion with his appointment a few years later: *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium reg. Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), iv. 3.

check upon his wayward brother Gloucester, with whom at the same time he maintained excellent terms. His diplomatic talents, indeed, caused his personality to have a quieting effect upon many disturbers of the peace, for during his rare appearances in England it usually fell to his lot to bring about a reconciliation between various quarrelsome lords. He was endowed, in fact, with what the French term "solid" qualities, and was, in addition, of blameless private life. That he was, however, capable of hardness and even cruelty is evidenced by his treatment of Jeanne d'Arc, which is, indeed, the one stain on his character.

His brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, on the other hand was ambitious and self-seeking. Utterly wanting in public spirit or statesmanship, during Bedford's lifetime he heedlessly imperilled the all-important friendship with Burgundy by his schemes of personal aggrandisement, and after his death, regardless of the plight of the country and the hopeless condition of affairs in France, he so inflamed the war-spirit and false pride of the English that he drove them into rejecting offers of peace against the better judgment of the King's other advisers. At home, by his quarrels with his uncle of Winchester, and later with the Queen and her ministers, he undermined by dissension the position of the House of Lancaster, ruined himself, and hastened the ruin of his master. His private life so scandalized the people of London that it became at one time the subject of an expostulation to Parliament. Yet in spite of

all he was very popular, and was even—most undeservedly—called the "good Duke Humphrey." He had the outwardly attractive characteristics of the fourth and fifth Henries without their greatness. He was amiable and affable in manner, rigidly orthodox, like all his family, and had the reputation of being the most cultured man of his age.

"He dothe excelle,
In undirstondyng all othir of his age,
And hath gret ioie with clerkis to commune;
And no man is mor expert off language.
Stable in studie alwei he doth contune.
. . . . . .
Duc off Gloucestre men this prince calle,
And notwithstondyng his staat and dignyte
His corage never doth appalle
To studie in bookis off antiquite;
And of o thynge he hath a syngular price (? pride)
That heretik dar non comen in his sihte." [1]

He was munificent, as his gifts to his favourite abbey of St. Albans witness, and this, with his liberal patronage of literature and art, endeared him to the people. Also, it must be remembered that as he took no part in the campaigns in France he incurred no odium for disasters in the field, which was the unhappy lot of many of his contemporaries. Had he possessed some ordinary insight into the condition of affairs and the precarious state of the monarchy, and had he wholeheartedly and unselfishly devoted his efforts to establishing a capable administration, he would at least have helped the House of Lancaster to survive for another generation.

[1] Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 18 D 4.

An incident is related of him by the chronicler of St. Albans which shows at once his hot temper and his concern for the privileges of that abbey. When keeping Christmas there with his wife in 1423, he found that one of his servants had been put in the stocks for hunting rabbits and deer on the abbey lands. Not content with that, the Duke picked up a mattress-beater and so belaboured the unfortunate man with it that his head was broken.[1]

The old Duke of Exeter, Thomas Beaufort, whom Henry V wished to be the guardian of the young King, was the youngest of the three Beaufort brothers, sons of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford. Exeter seems to have been a somewhat headstrong and violent man in his youth, but he was now old and doubtless sobered, and as he died a few years after the accession of the infant Henry VI he can hardly have had much influence upon the character of the young monarch.

His brother, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and afterwards cardinal, was a far more important personage. Ambitious, energetic and thoroughly capable, he was one of those great clerical statesmen who arose in an age when education was still chiefly in the hands of the Church. A man whose influence was felt throughout Europe, and who was by far the richest man in England, he was possessed also of an arrogance and imperiousness which led him more than once into collision with his contemporaries, and particularly with his nephew Gloucester, whom he

[1] *Annales Monast. St. Albani,* auctore ignoto (Rolls Ser.), V, i. 4.

cordially detested. For this reason the wisdom of Henry V in recommending that the Regency of England should be conferred on Gloucester may again be called in question, for, considering the characteristics of both, no one could reasonably have been sanguine about their working together in harmony, and Winchester was of far too great importance to be ignored. It seems strange that Henry should have overlooked him.[1]

The Bishop did not scorn to increase his riches by trade, and had the name of being the greatest wool-dealer in the realm. But whether he acquired his great wealth by fair means or foul, he at least used it in a disinterested manner for the good of the country. It was naturally to the interest of the Beauforts to support the Lancastrian dynasty, and Winchester did it handsomely. He was ever ready to supply the King with funds at any time of financial crisis, whether for private or public use, and there seems to have been considerable affection between him and the young Henry VI as he grew up.

These three were the chief men at the head of affairs in 1422.

The Privy Council met on 30 September and issued writs for a Parliament to be summoned on 9 November. Trouble began a few days before the latter date. The Lords did not look upon Gloucester with favour, and, knowing his ambition, realized that it was neces-

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 3, states that he was recommended with Warwick for the care of the young King.

sary to put some check upon him. The Beauforts, meanwhile, had had time to organize their opposition. Accordingly, on 5 November, Gloucester was authorized by the Council to open and dissolve Parliament only "by assent of the Council," and not in his own right as Warden of the Realm. The Duke strongly objected to this insertion, protesting that the words were unusual and likely to prove prejudicial to his rank. In spite of his protest, however, the Lords replied that "considering the King's age, they could not, ought not, and would not otherwise consent, but that these words, or others having similar import, should be inserted for the security of the aforesaid Duke, and of themselves in time to come," [1] and to that Gloucester had to submit.

When Parliament opened on 9 November, two days after the funeral obsequies of Henry V were completed, the Duke got still less satisfaction. He advanced a claim to the Regency of the Kingdom on the grounds of the will of Henry V, but he was given to understand that it was beyond the power of any monarch to dispose of the government of the kingdom after his death. The atmosphere of mistrust was indeed so strong that the Parliament finally decided to make the Duke of Bedford "Protector of the realm and Church of England and the King's chief counsellor," while Gloucester was to exercise these functions only during Bedford's absence. This was an arrangement

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, Chron. Catalogue ii, and Acts, p. 6.

recommended by Henry V in the will he made before finally leaving England. As Bedford during the rest of his lifetime paid only one visit of any length to England, Gloucester obtained the office in practice, but together with a severe snub, and the knowledge that his excellent brother could at any time be called in to check him. He was allowed to make appointments to many small offices, but was obliged to ask the advice of the Council with regard to the more important.

A Regency Council of seventeen members was then nominated. It comprised the Duke of Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Henry Chicheley, who is described as "a very discreet man and mild in all correction"[1]), the Bishops of Winchester, London, Norwich, and Worcester, the Duke of Exeter, the Earls of March, Warwick, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, with the Earl Marshal, Lords Cromwell, and Fitz-Hugh, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir John Tiptoft, and Sir Walter Beauchamp.[2]

The Earl of March, thus selected, was that Edmund Mortimer whose grandfather, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, had married Philippa, the only daughter and heiress of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. He might therefore have claimed the throne as the descendant of an elder son of the latter monarch than John of Gaunt. He was, perhaps because of this danger, placed upon the Council in order to

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 32.

[2] *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 175.

be under observation, but it was left to his nephew and heir to advance the claim.

Richard Beauchamp, "gracious Warwick," was a seasoned warrior and a man of considerable influence. He was looked upon as a model of the knightly virtues of the age, but there seems to have been a stern and harsh quality in him which had an unfortunate influence upon the young King whose tutor he was afterwards to become. He was, however, upright in character and extremely conscientious in the performance of his duties. He and Archbishop Chicheley were Beaufort partisans.

The Earl of Northumberland was Henry Percy, son of that "Hotspur" who with his father had rebelled against Henry IV. This Earl was restored to his honours by Henry V, and remained the faithful adherent of Henry VI until he was killed at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455.

The Earl of Westmoreland, Ralph Neville of Raby, represented the great Northern rivals of the Percies. He was the father of twenty-three children, and the ancestor of the great Neville family which was so deeply involved in the troubles of the coming reign, and of which we shall hear much later. This Earl, however, died in 1425.

The Earl Marshal, John Mowbray, who was also Earl of Nottingham, became Duke of Norfolk in 1424, and was a son-in-law of Ralph of Westmoreland.

Lord Fitz-Hugh had been Chamberlain to Henry V, who had specially desired that he, with Sir Walter

Hungerford, a renowned soldier, should be about the person of the young King. Sir John Tiptoft had held the offices of Seneschal of Aquitaine and President of the Exchequer in Normandy. Sir Walter Beauchamp, who was a relative of the old Earl of Warwick, had fought at Agincourt, and had also been Speaker of the House of Commons.

The guardianship of the young King was now committed by Parliament to the Duke of Exeter, as Henry V had desired. His duties, however, were not likely to be onerous until his charge grew a little older.

The situation which the little King's ministers had to face was not a cheering one.

The position of the Lancastrian dynasty in England was none too secure, although the successful wars of Henry V had made him popular with the nation and had raised the prestige of England in the eyes of Europe. It will be remembered that Henry IV, grandfather of Henry VI, had forced his cousin Richard II to abdicate his throne on account of his misrule, and is usually supposed to have caused the unfortunate monarch to be made away with in the following year. In this usurpation he had been supported by a nation exasperated by Richard's misgovernment, and he had declared his right to the crown vaguely as the descendant of Henry III, and as the *male* heir of Richard, but his monarchical position was really based on the elective power of the nation, for the Salic Law was not held in England.

He was the next *male* heir, for he was the eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, third son of Edward III. The second son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had had an only daughter, Philippa, wife of Edmund Mortimer, who, however, never seems to have thought of claiming the crown. It was reserved for her descendant to bring a retribution upon Henry IV's grandson, upon whose innocent head, strangely enough, fell a fate almost exactly similar to that of Richard II without his personally deserving it.

The Lancastrian dynasty was therefore in the somewhat precarious position of an elected monarchy, and Parliament, having asserted the right of the nation to choose, or at least to ratify the choice of a monarch, naturally had to be treated with respect and allowed the free exercise of its powers and liberties. It was not, however, at this time at all an assertive body, and the King did not desire to come into conflict with its wishes in any violent way, choosing rather to evade its provisions, as far as was lawful, when they were distasteful to him. The House of Commons was a prejudiced body, composed exclusively of landowners and men of some standing in each county, and, owing to the ease with which the elections could be influenced by territorial partisanship, was unfitted to act as an impartial tribunal for settling the affairs of the nation. The Lancastrians wished to rule as constitutional monarchs guided by Parliament, but, in view of the result, it is not surprising that some writers on the subject consider that power had been

taken from the monarchy and bestowed upon Parliament before the country was fit for that amount of self-government. Owing to the weakness of Parliament the chief power fell into the hands of the nobles, with disastrous results when they came to be divided among themselves. The Council, which was composed of them, had the approval of Parliament during the minority, and worked in harmony with it throughout the early years of the reign. At no time did Henry VI attempt to raise money without consent of Parliament, or commit any similar actions calculated to arouse a spirit of opposition, so that at one time three years passed without its being summoned and without any outcry being raised.

The country was in a restless and unsatisfactory condition. The war with France had already continued for seventy years, so that the prosperity usually attendant on a time of peace was far to seek. Many of the Lords and country gentry were away in France, and their estates in the meantime were neglected, or fell an easy prey to the depredations of covetous neighbours. The demoralizing influence of long warfare had caused the decay of authority, and order was not kept in the land. It also gave rise to a callousness towards bloodshed, and, by fostering a love of fighting, paved the way for the slaughter in the civil war which was to follow.

In order fully to understand the state of the country we must go back some eighty years. England was in fact still suffering from the effects of that

terrible visitation of 1348–9 known as the Black Death. Opinions vary as to the proportion of the population which was swept away by this scourge, but it seems probable that at least a third of the people perished, and in some districts as much as one-half. Such an appalling visitation could not fail to touch deeply the social conditions of the time. The country was more heavily affected than the towns, for there, up to this time, the manorial system had been the principal factor. In the manor the villeins tilled their strips of the common field, and were also bound to do so many days' work on the demesne land of the lord and render him various other services unless they had been commuted for a money payment. If, then, a third or a half of the able-bodied men of the village were removed—for the plague attacked chiefly the young and strong—it followed that there were not enough men to till the village lands, and also that the lord had a difficulty in exacting enough labour to get his demesne lands tilled. The result of such a scarcity of labour was naturally a demand for high wages, and thus the interests of the landlord and the labourers were brought seriously into conflict. The lord of the manor wished to retain payment in service, while it was to the interest of the villeins to free themselves so that they might be able to ask good wages. At harvest-time, when the greatest demand for labour occurred, wages rose enormously. Men began to forsake their villages and wander about in search of higher pay. Vagabondage increased. Thus the agri-

cultural system was entirely dislocated, and landlords who were obliged to employ this expensive labour were much impoverished and threatened with ruin. The necessities of the landowners gave rise to a good deal of oppression, which in turn aroused discontent and restlessness among the villeins. The lords of the manors tried to enforce their manorial services upon the villeins, and were, indeed, in a strong position for the purpose, for the machinery of the Manorial Courts was under their control, and their legal position was secure, the aim of mediæval legislation being to support the landowners in the maintenance of their authority. Their interests were naturally well guarded by a Parliament which was largely composed of Knights of the Shires, themselves landowners.

The outcome of these troubles was the Statute of Labourers of 1351. This enacted that men were to accept work at the old rate of wages usual before the Black Death—a provision which applied to crafts as well as to agriculture. It also restrained the rise in prices and prohibited the sale of food at a rate of "excessive gain." This Statute, however, was not a mere measure in support of the landowners; it was the general opinion of the times that the claiming of excessive wages or the demanding of exceptionally high prices because of a national calamity was an unfair extortion. But in spite of this Act prices continued to rise, and the tendency was encouraged by the influx of money from the French War and the lightening of the coinage at home. The penalties of the Act were,

however, long enforced with considerable oppression, as will appear at the time of Jack Cade's Rebellion.

The immediate result of the unhappy state of the people was the Peasants' Revolt of 1380, from which little or no improvement resulted. The violence of the insurgents turned public feeling against them, and Richard II, misled by his counsellors, evaded his promises to the peasant leaders under pressure of danger. Efforts were made by legislation to check the efflux from agriculture. The landlords, on their part, hit upon two expedients for dealing with the land which it cost them so much to cultivate in the old way. The first of these was to let out portions of their domains on the "stock and lease" system, which, though not unknown before, was now much developed. The second was to enclose their lands to form large sheep farms—a matter about which there was later much complaint. The latter method was doubly profitable to the landlord, because he required fewer hired men to herd the sheep than to cultivate the land, and also wool was more than ever in demand for the flourishing cloth industry of the country. The abuses of enclosure for sheep farming did not become serious until the end of the fifteenth century, but it is necessary for our purpose to show in what direction matters were tending.

The effect of the Black Death on the towns was chiefly indirect. The mortality was doubtless as great as in the country, but the disorganization was not the same, although, owing to the very primitive

condition of sanitation among a dense population, the disease lingered in the towns much longer. There were outbreaks in London from time to time throughout the reign of Henry VI, and especially in 1438 and 1449, though by that time it was losing much of its former virulence. The principal manner in which the towns were affected was by the influx of the population from the country in the hope of obtaining employment at a craft. There, however, the countrymen were met by a fresh barrier, for the Craft Gilds did not welcome them. They were fast becoming proud and exclusive bodies, ruled by the rich master craftsmen, and were unwilling to admit new and poor members to their company.

The most flourishing of industries was one outside the Gilds and unhampered by their regulations. This was the cloth trade, for which England was especially famous. So prosperous and well developed was it that in 1422 the Hansards are said to have exported from England 4464 different kinds of cloth.

Foreign trade up to this time had been chiefly in the hands of the Hansards and the Merchants of the Staple, but both of these great companies were now beginning to decline, the latter because of the decreasing export of wool, and the former from causes affecting their prosperity at home. Their place was about to be taken by the new Merchant Companies, of which more will be heard later.

Lastly, the roads were in a deplorable condition. This, no doubt, was largely owing to the decay of

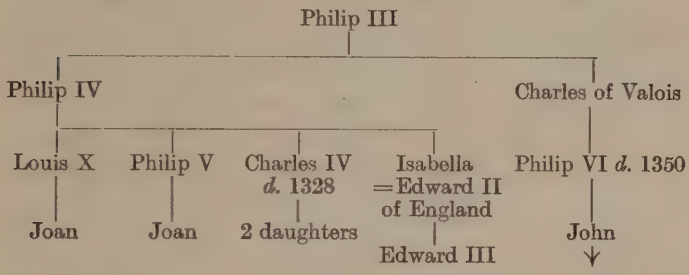
the manorial system, for the lord of the manor had been responsible for the upkeep of the roads within his domains and the Manorial Courts had kept the matter under their supervision. Such was their state at this time that quite a number of deaths are recorded from persons being flung out of carts owing to sudden irregularities of the ground.[1] In consequence of these drawbacks wheeled vehicles were seldom used, transport and journeying being for the most part accomplished on horseback. Waterways gained an increased importance, for they were used wherever possible in order to avoid the abominable roads. In addition to their other disadvantages the roads were infested by vagabonds, disbanded soldiers and bandits, which discouraged the timid and those bearing valuables from much journeying. This difficulty of communication had a bad effect upon internal trade, and the fairs, which in those days were such an important and lucrative institution, declined much in prosperity.

England, then, at the beginning of the reign of Henry VI was at a difficult and uneasy stage of her history, and was to sink into a worse condition yet before rising again to prosperity.

The position with regard to France was hardly better. Henry V, by an unwise impulse, had revived the ancient claim of England to the throne of France, declaring himself to be the rightful monarch of that country as the male heir of his great-grandfather

[1] Abram, *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, 14.

Edward III. The claim of Edward III to the French crown had not been very plausible. The three brothers of his mother Isabella had in turn ascended the throne and had all died without male issue, the third, Charles IV, who died in 1328, leaving two daughters. As the Salic Law was recognized in France, the crown passed to the nearest male heir, Philip of Valois, first cousin of the three brothers.



Edward III chose to ignore the Salic Law, and, overlooking the daughters of the former three Kings, claimed the crown by right of his mother Isabella. After some years of warfare, however, he gave up his claim at the Peace of Bretigny. Henry V evidently did not consider this treaty binding, but the absurdity of his claim lay in the fact that he asserted his right to the French throne as the *male* heir of Edward III. Now Edward had set aside the Salic Law and claimed through a woman, therefore in order to be consistent his rights, such as they were, must descend to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who was the direct heir of Edward III through his grandmother Philippa. This

inconvenient fact seems to have escaped Henry's attention.

But whatever his views on the subject of the succession may have been, Henry V should have known better than to involve England in a long and useless war. At her strongest, England could hardly hope to conquer France, much less to hold it when won, and, as we have seen, the country was not in a prosperous condition. True, Henry V had been marvellously successful, and, as far as treaties could do it, had secured the crown of France for the heirs of himself and his Queen Katherine of Valois by the Treaty of Troyes. He had obtained for himself at home lustre and popularity, and he even declared fervently on his death-bed that he believed his claim to the French crown to be righteous, and that he had not pursued the war from ambition or love of glory. But even so it is difficult to imagine that he could really have dreamt of governing successfully a foreign realm in addition to his own. He left his son an impossible task, all the more impossible because of his own success; for the English arms had gone so far that they could not draw back without injury to national pride, and it would have been felt a disgrace to claim less than Henry V had claimed and half won.

It was necessary for the completion of Henry's task to have a strong and capable head and a powerful and well-organized army. The first requirement was fulfilled by the Duke of Bedford. The eldest brother

of Henry V was, as mentioned above, a most able man, almost equal to the King in generalship, and in some ways superior to him in character. He was more generous and less haughty, and was consequently more popular with the French; he was, indeed, beloved by the Burgundians and the Normans, and also by the French nobility who had espoused the English cause, but whose affection Henry had never won. During Bedford's lifetime the English arms did not lose ground, and up to 1428 even effected a steady advance, while the administration of affairs was conducted with order and ability. Better success would have attended his efforts had his army been more efficient, but it was an ill-organized mass of small groups. It was customary in England for each lord or captain to bring his own retinue, swelled by as many recruits as he could collect, which band he commanded himself and took his orders only from the King's Lieutenant or his representative. The army was composed chiefly of English, with a sprinkling of French and Burgundians. It was distributed over the country in garrisons, which were drawn upon when an army of aggression was required, small bodies remaining in charge. The famous English archers were still an important part of the troops, but the new artillery, which was to make such a change in warfare, was already being introduced and was used side by side with the bowmen. The pay of the soldiers was high, and under Bedford's administration fairly regular, although the exchequer was

drained by the long war. As the reign of Henry VI went on it grew more and more difficult to obtain the necessary funds. At one time Bedford offered his Norman revenues for the purpose, and Henry was reduced to pledging his jewels and plate and borrowing from any one who was rich enough to supply him. But his difficulty in raising funds hampered Bedford and gave rise to discontent among his men.

The element which turned the scale of success in either direction between France and England was the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy. This Duke held large dominions along the eastern frontiers of France, and also numbered among his possessions Flanders, a country of immense importance to English trade. Jean sans Peur, father of the Duke, who was in possession at the accession of Henry VI, had allied himself with the French in 1419, but it was believed by the followers of the Dauphin that he still had a secret understanding with the English. On 10 September of the same year the Duke Jean was treacherously murdered in the presence of the Dauphin on the bridge of Montereau. His son Philip, therefore, was favourable to the English cause from motives of vengeance. His support, however, was not very whole-hearted, and it was chiefly owing to the efforts of Bedford that the alliance lasted as long as it did.

The domains held by the English in France in the year 1422 comprised Normandy, Île-de-France, a great part of Picardy and Champagne, and in the south-east Bordelais, Bazadais and Landes. In the north,

however, the English rule really extended only over Normandy, Paris, the west of Île-de-France, and Alençon, the rest being administered by Burgundian officials. The Duke of Burgundy, then an English ally, held in the east Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders.

France was in a terrible condition, and was overrun with brigands and vagrants of all sorts. The distress was fearful; agriculture was ruined by the incessant warfare; famine was threatened and trade dislocated. The people in the country starved or were driven away; the towns were full of ruined houses. In Paris, even the religious institutions and hospitals were ruined. Normandy was so poor that it was obliged to obtain corn from England. To add to its miseries, the whole country was infested by wolves, and everywhere there was desolation, depopulation and disorder.

Bedford's rule was capable, but it could not cope effectually with the state of affairs. He abandoned the practice of planting English colonies in Normandy, which had been the unpopular policy of Henry V. All individuals down to cowherds and swineherds were required to take an oath of allegiance to the English, and those who refused were deprived of their goods and evicted, while the Frenchmen of position who supported him were richly rewarded. The revenue to be gained from the French lands was not great, for however much might be voted by a subservient assembly it was almost impossible to wring taxes from the ruined people. Bedford, however, got leave from the Pope to impose taxes of a tenth on the clergy.

He kept his provinces under a strict police surveillance, but his principle was to interfere as little as possible with local customs and institutions, and where he could to give civil posts to Frenchmen. He also reformed the Court of Justice at Paris and struck a good coinage. The policy of the English was thus to conquer France by means of French help and money, but they were not strong enough even with that, and did not succeed in keeping order in the dominions they had won.

The dying Henry V himself felt that his brothers would probably be unequal to the task, and while charging them to make no peace with Charles, added with foreboding that they should at least consent to no peace that did not preserve Normandy to the English. Thus England was forced to continue an unjust and hopeless war, which was in itself a fearful handicap to the country's prosperity by its continual draining of her energies and resources. One thing, however, Henry V had done. He had so raised the military prestige of England among European nations that even when she had lost France and was distracted with civil war no other country attempted to take advantage of her distress, and France, except for a few trifling raids, did not venture to avenge herself by carrying the war into the enemy's country.

Barely two months after the accession of Henry VI the situation in France underwent an alteration. On 21 October, 1422, the old half-insane King of France, Charles VI, grandfather of the little King of England,

died in Paris, poor and neglected. On 5 November he was carried to his grave at St. Denis with little pomp, the Duke of Bedford, who had remained in France since the death of Henry V, attending as chief mourner in the absence of any French princes. Among the people of Paris the old King was much lamented, and the action of Bedford in causing the King's sword to be carried before him in the funeral procession as Regent caused considerable murmuring. According to the provisions of the Treaty of Troyes the young Henry VI now succeeded his maternal grandfather as Henry II of France, and was so proclaimed by the herald over the grave of Charles. The French nation probably received an unpleasant shock. The treaty had been made several years before, but it only now came into effect and forced itself upon the attention of the people in a manner which they could not well ignore.

The Dauphin Charles, whom his father had thus disinherited, was a feeble and retiring young man of nineteen, ruled by favourites who wasted his substance and encouraged his inactivity. He was, however, crowned at Poitiers as Charles VII, and was generally acknowledged south of the Loire to the borders of Guienne. Moreover, many of the French nobles who had supported Henry V out of deference to the wishes of Charles VI, now allowed their patriotism to assert itself and joined the Dauphin, who was scornfully nicknamed by the English the "King of Bourges," after the town where he kept his Court. The death of Charles VI therefore

was, on the whole, distinctly disadvantageous to the English.

Early in 1423 Bedford took the precaution of proclaiming again the Treaty of Troyes, and exacted oaths of allegiance to Henry. The people of Paris, we are told, took the oath, some "with good heart," but some with great unwillingness.[1]

Scotland was another cause of difficulty, both because of her propensity for raids over the border, and chiefly on account of her partiality for the French, to whom she lost no opportunity of sending help. Henry V detested the Scottish nation: "A cursed people the Scots," he is reported to have said; "wherever I go I find them in my beard." The English in general seem to have had but a poor opinion of them: "An ape although she be clothed in purple will be but an ape, and a Scot never so gently entertained of an English prince will be but a dissimulating Scot," says the impolite Hall.[2] After the severe defeat of the Scots at Homildon Hill in 1402 the border raids, which until that date had been so prevalent, ceased for some years.

In 1406 a strange situation had arisen. In that year Prince James, the only surviving son of the old King Robert III, while journeying to France for his education, was captured off Flamborough Head by an English corsair. It is uncertain whether there was a truce with Scotland at the time, but

[1] *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (ed. A. Tuetey).
[2] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 119.

Henry IV could not resist the temptation to keep possession of so valuable a person. This iniquity proved too much for the poor old King Robert, and he died on 4 April, 1406, thus leaving his captive son, aged barely twelve years, King of Scotland as James I. The unfortunate young King was still a captive when Henry VI ascended the throne, and English chroniclers are careful to point out that he thus gained a more peaceful youth and a sounder education than he would have obtained in his own country. Possibly that was the case, but although he was far from being ill-treated, he certainly did not feel that all the advantages he thus obtained, compensated for the loss of his liberty.

The Regency was assumed by the Duke of Albany, King Robert's brother, who does not seem to have been particularly anxious to obtain the ransom of his nephew. As his rule connived at the misdoings of the nobility, the country fell into a state of disorder which bade fair to give King James a good deal of trouble whenever he should return to his kingdom. Border raids also began to be the custom once more. Albany died in 1420, and was succeeded by his son Murdoch, who was still less successful than his father in establishing order.

In this same year, as the result of a French embassy, Scottish help was sent to France. The French, although they disliked the Scots and disrespectfully called them "tugmuttons" and "winebags," nevertheless found them extremely useful when it came to

actual fighting, and to their help was due the defeat and death of Henry V's brother Clarence at Baugé in 1421. Clarence himself is said to have been slain by the Earl of Buchan, and the English army suffered heavy loss. In 1422, consequently, Buchan was made Constable of France, and Stewart of Darnley at the same time became Constable of the Scots in France. The Earl of Douglas was also with them, and the contingent of Scots remained to harry the English in France for some years.

Before proceeding with the reign of Henry VI it will be worth while to glance at the general position of affairs in Europe.

The Emperor at this time was Sigismund. A member of the House of Luxemburg, he had been elected King of the Romans in 1411, but was not actually crowned at Rome until 1433. There had been a schism at his election which did not tend to increase the stability of his position. The electors had been divided in their support between Sigismund, his cousin Jobst of Moravia, and Wenzel, King of Bohemia. Jobst, however, opportunely died, and Sigismund contrived to pacify Wenzel. He was not, however, crowned until after the latter's death. Sigismund had made his reputation in Hungary, on the borders of which he had reduced Bosnia, Servia, and the greater part of Dalmatia, and had thus established a barrier against the Turk. But he also gained an unenviable notoriety at the Council of Constance by permitting the barefaced violation of the safe conduct

of John Hus, and his subsequent cruel death. In 1419 he became King of Bohemia by Wenzel's death, but the Bohemians, holding him responsible for the death of Hus, would have nothing to do with him. In 1422, therefore, he was engaged in a crusade against the Hussites in his new kingdom, an undertaking in which he was entirely unsuccessful owing to the skilful opposition of Ziska, the Hussite general.

Germany, as usual, was in a state of confusion consequent on an outworn military and political system. The Princes of Germany were prevented from binding themselves together under their natural head, the Emperor, by their general distrust of Sigismund. In 1422 it was proposed at the Diet of Nürnberg to raise a mercenary army in place of the inefficient feudal levies, and to pay for it by a tax of the hundredth penny. The project, however, was defeated by the opposition of the towns. Moreover, the electors were on the verge of openly opposing Sigismund and were only deterred from it by the dangerous strength of the Hussites, against whom he protected them. The last of the Ascanian Electors of Saxony, Albert III, died in 1422, leaving an only daughter, who was married to the son of the Hohenzollern Elector of Brandenburg. Sigismund, however, passed over this claim and appointed to the Electorship of Saxony Frederick of Meissen, the founder of the present Wettin line, and thereby earned the enmity of his former supporter, Frederick of Brandenburg.

The Papacy also had had its difficulties. The

Great Schism had been ended in 1417 by the election of Martin V, the Italian Cardinal Oddo Colonna, but his rival, the deposed Benedict XIII, who was a Spaniard named Peter de Luna, continued to hold out in the fortress of Peniscola, and was occasionally resorted to by persons who could not persuade Martin V to do as they wished. The recognized Pope, however, had returned to Rome, and moulded the policy of the whole of the fifteenth century by his decision to live there and recover and consolidate the Papal States. It was, moreover, an era of Church Councils, a series of which had been inaugurated at the Council of Constance. Martin V disliked them as tending to decrease his power, but he was obliged to submit.

The Hussite movement in Bohemia which gave both Emperor and Pope so much trouble, besides being a religious movement, was also part of the widespread Slav reaction against the Germans which had begun in the last century, and it was only intensified in feeling by the burning of Hus in 1415. In 1420 the Hussites had put forward the "Four Articles of Prague," by which they demanded: (i) complete liberty of preaching; (ii) communion in both kinds; (iii) the exclusion of priests from temporal affairs and the holding of property; and (iv) the subjection of the clergy to secular penalties for crimes and misdemeanours. In that same year Sigismund returned from a campaign against the Turks and claimed the kingdom, an action which resulted in seventeen years of warfare. After

Sigismund's third defeat in 1422 they were left in peace for five years. Indeed, so complete was their success under the able leadership of Ziska that the orthodox chroniclers of the time were obliged to excuse it by explaining that the good Germans were inspired with such a loathing for heretics that they could not bring themselves to touch or strike them, or even to look them in the face! A little later the English Cardinal Beaufort, when newly raised to that dignity, took an active part in these wars.

Scandinavia at this time was a united whole, the three nations of Norway, Sweden and Denmark having been joined under one ruler by the Union of Kalmar in 1397. The monarch of Scandinavia in 1422 was Eric of Pomerania, but the union of his dominions was by no means secure owing to the fact that the three nations were not bound together by any particular feeling of affection, and they were soon destined to be once more separated. As long as it lasted, however, the union seriously threatened the prosperity of their rival the Hanseatic League of Northern Germany, and in 1422 Denmark and the Hanse Towns, allied with the Count of Holstein, were engaged in a quarrel for the possession of Schleswig.

Spain had not yet attained to the unity of a nation. In Castile in 1422 the ruler was John II, a boy of eighteen, whose mother was the English Princess Catherine of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt. The government was in reality in the hands of the powerful minister Alvaro de Luna. John's first

cousin, Alfonso V, had become in 1416 ruler of Aragon.

Portugal also was connected with the English royal house, for the reigning King, John III, had married Philippa of Lancaster, another daughter of John of Gaunt. The most interesting personage of the time in Portugal was their son, Prince Henry the Navigator, who during his voyages round the west coast of Africa had recently discovered Madeira.

Italy also was composed of many independent states. Milan was in the hands of the Visconti, and in 1422 was ruled by Filippo Maria, the last Duke of that family. Florence was ruled by an oligarchy, of which the most prominent member was Rinaldo degli Albizzi, the opposition being headed by Giovanni de Medici.

The Republic of Venice found herself in a difficult position, her attention being divided between Milan and the Turks. On the East she needed to expand and to preserve her commerce in the Levant, but the Turks being aggressive, all her strength was needed for the preservation of her position there. On the West, however, she was threatened by Milan, who laid claim to Padua and Verona, which had been recently acquired by Venice. She greatly needed to make her frontier secure in this direction, but if occupied by a war with Milan she was likely to lose her hold on the Levant. This, then, was the problem with which Venice was confronted in 1422.

Naples was ruled by Queen Joanna II, the incapable

sister of Ladislas, but her possession was not undisputed. Charles III of Naples, father of Ladislas and Joanna, was the cousin and heir of Joanna I, but as they became involved in a violent quarrel Joanna disinherited him and adopted as her heir Louis of Anjou. The result was a century of rivalry between the two houses. Charles succeeded in gaining the kingdom after his aunt's death, and transmitted it to his children, but the claim of Anjou was far from being surrendered, and Louis succeeded on his part in gaining possession of Provence. His grandson, René of Anjou, who retained Provence and called himself King of Naples and Sicily, was destined to become the father-in-law of Henry VI of England.

Switzerland had established her independence in 1389, and at the time of the accession of Henry VI was quarrelling with Milan for the possession of Bellinzona.

Poland had become united with Lithuania by the marriage of Hedwig of Poland with Jagello of Lithuania, who became a Christian, and ruled over the united kingdoms as Ladislas V. His chief enemies, the Knights of the Teutonic Order, could not withstand this union. In 1410 they sustained a severe defeat at the battle of Tannenberg, Ladislas being assisted by his fellow-Slav John Ziska, who afterwards became a distinguished leader when the Slavonic reaction, so marked at the beginning of the fifteenth century, spread to Bohemia. In the following year the Treaty of Thorn inaugurated a period of peace for Poland.

There remains the Turkish Empire, which was now assuming a threatening attitude towards Europe and was especially troubling the Emperor, whose frontiers its armies approached, and the Republic of Venice, whose Eastern trade was interfered with. The great Mahomet I, who had reunited the Turks, was succeeded in 1421 by Murad III or Amurath II, who continued his father's warfare against the ruler of the Eastern Empire, Manuel Palæologus. In 1422 Amurath laid siege to Constantinople, but his attention was diverted by troubles in his own dominions, and the great city of the East was not destined to fall for another thirty years.

Such was, at a glance, the general condition of Europe when Henry VI ascended the throne of England.

CHAPTER II

1423–1437: YOUTH AND TUTELAGE OF HENRY

THE infant Henry, as we have already seen, was officially placed under the guardianship of his great-uncle, the Duke of Exeter. Exeter held that office for the next five years, but owing to the King's tender age the good Duke could hardly be expected to take an active part in his upbringing, and Gloucester thoughtfully arranged that Henry's mother should have the principal charge of him during his infancy.

Henry's second Parliament met on 21 October, 1423, and the King now being well advanced in his second year it was thought right that he should make a public appearance in London. On 13 November Henry, with his mother and his nurse, left Windsor and slept that night, which was a Saturday, at Staines. Next morning they would have gone on, but Henry, upon being carried out to his mother's "chair," "shyrled and cried so fervently that . . . nothing the Queen could devise might content him." In fact he created so much disturbance that the Queen, "being feared that he had been diseased," took him back again to her chamber in the inn, "where anone he was in good rest and quyet"[1]; but the journey was abandoned for

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 593.

that day. This exhibition of infantile perversity is solemnly related by Henry's chroniclers as showing a supernatural instinct against the wickedness of travelling on the Sabbath. On Monday, as he offered no objection to setting out, he was brought without further distress of mind to Kingston, and on the following day to Kennington. On 17 November the little King "with a glad chere sate in his modres lappe in the chare and rode thurgh the Cite to Westminster . . . and there was brought into the Parliament."[1] This was the first occasion upon which the young King was introduced to his "faithful Commons." At the end of the month, on 26 November, he was taken to Waltham Holy Cross for a short time, and from thence travelled to the royal castle of Hertford, where he kept Christmas in the company of the King of Scots, who had been a prisoner in England for nearly eighteen years, but was now on the point of returning to his kingdom.

In February 1424 Henry was found to require a new nurse, and a worthy dame named Alice Botiller was selected by the Privy Council. Owing to the custom of wording the proceedings of the Privy Council in the name of the King the appointment reads somewhat quaintly. "Very dear and well beloved," the two-year-old Henry is made to say, "because of this our youth and tender age it behoves us to be taught and to be instructed in courtesy and nurture and other matters beseeming a royal person,

[1] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), p. 280.

to the end that we may be able the better to hold and govern in preservation of our honour and estate when we shall come to full age—hoping to arrive at this estate by the help of God. And it is reported and seems to our Council that you are a person well expert and wise enough to so teach and instruct us. We are willing by the advice and assent of our said Council and we command you in this capacity to be about our person and there diligently labour and make arrangements. And we give you our permission by these presents to reasonably chastise us from time to time as the case shall require, so that you shall not be molested, hurt or injured for this cause in future time." [1]

Dame Alice received £40 yearly for these services, and in 1426 was awarded in addition an annuity of forty marks from the fee farm of Great Yarmouth. Henry also had another nurse named Joan Asteley, who received an annuity in 1433.

The Parliament at which the little King made his first appearance did not pass without a slight foreshadowing of the direction from which Henry's later troubles were to arise. One Sir John Mortimer, whose name was a disadvantage to him, for he was a cousin of the Earl of March of whose claim to the throne the House of Lancaster was so apprehensive, had lately been imprisoned on suspicion of treason. In February 1424 he attempted to escape from the Tower, which so convinced Parliament of his guilt

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 143.

that he was straightway condemned by special attainder and executed, whereupon "no small slander arose emongst the common people." The Earl of March himself came to London to attend this Parliament, being a member of the Council of Regency, but he somewhat unwisely arrived with a large retinue and made a great display, feasting all comers at the house of the Bishop of Salisbury. This caused some ill-feeling amongst the Lords and especially incensed Gloucester, who had always been his enemy. Parliament being already in a nervous state of mind, their suspicions were easily aroused, and, probably at Gloucester's instigation, March was removed from England by being appointed to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, a post which was used throughout the reign of Henry VI for disposing of inconvenient persons. March went to Ireland in 1424, but he was already ill—in 1423 he had visited the shrine of St. Alban in search of health—and six months later, in January 1425, he died. The heir to his possessions, and to the claim which he himself had never brought forward, was young Richard of York, the son of his only sister, Anne Mortimer. This young man, who was still a minor in his fourteenth year, had his honours restored to him by the Parliament of 1426 as Duke of York and Earl of Cambridge and Rutland.[1] The custody of his lands was granted to Gloucester, but the

[1] The Earldom of Cambridge came to him from his father, that of Rutland from his uncle, who died without issue in 1415, and the Dukedom of York from his grandfather, Edmund Langley.

wardship of his person was accorded to Joan [1] widow of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, to whose youngest daughter Cecily he had been contracted in marriage about 1424, although the little girl was then only nine, and he was thus brought up among the Nevilles. In the Countess's household the young Richard doubtless formed a friendship with her eldest son—his brother-in-law—Richard Neville, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, and her grandson, Richard Neville, afterwards known as "Warwick the King-maker," men who were destined to be York's principal supporters in later years.

In 1425 Parliament met on 30 April, and the little King was brought to London to open the session in person. At the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral he was met by his Uncle Gloucester and his Great-uncle Exeter, who took him out of his "chair," and he "went upon his fete fro the west dore to the steires and so up into the quere." [2] Afterwards he was set upon a great courser and rode through the city in triumph, and "was judged of all men to have the very image, lively portraiture and lovely countenance of his famous father." [3] After this exploit he was taken back to his palace at Kennington, but came again to Westminster and "held his see diverse daies in Parliament." [4] The age of three and a half seemed early

[1] Joan Beaufort, sister of Exeter and Cardinal Beaufort.
[2] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 285.
[3] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 127.
[4] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 285.

to expect the poor child to begin his duties in this respect.

The evils of a minority and the consequent jealousy between those into whose hands the business of ruling fell now began to be felt. Since October 1424 Gloucester had been in Holland endeavouring to secure the possessions of his wife, Jacqueline of Hainault, which lands her former husband, the Duke of Brabant, and Philip of Burgundy were unwilling to allow her to have. He, however, returned for the opening of Parliament in April 1425, and was severely reprimanded by the Council for his selfish and heedless imperilling of the Burgundian alliance so important to England. In this irritated state of feeling "a grudge began to kindle[1]" between Gloucester the Protector and his uncle Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester—the Chancellor —who had probably not lost the opportunity of emphasizing the reproof of the Council. The real cause of the quarrel seems to have been sheer jealousy of power; both were haughty men, unaccustomed to yield; the immediate grounds were a dispute about Gloucester's right to lodge in the Tower, and the designs of both for gaining control of the infant King. They were not long in coming to blows. On 29 October, when the newly elected Mayor of London was holding his great dinner, he was peremptorily summoned from the table by Gloucester and given orders to keep strict watch in the city that night. Matters

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 595.

came to a head early on the morrow, but it is not quite clear which side was guilty of aggression. Some accuse Gloucester of wishing to attack the Bishop of Winchester's palace in Southwark,[1] but Fabyan, who —being an alderman—was always well informed regarding London affairs, states that about nine in the morning the Bishop's men tried to enter the city by the bridge gate and were kept out by force.[2] The result threatened to be serious. The Bishop's men, much incensed, collected archers and men-at-arms and assaulted the gate. The men of London, hearing the noise, shut up their shops and "sped them thither in great number." Such was the excitement that the Mayor, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Portuguese Duke of Coimbra,[3] had to ride between the combatants eight times before they were able to "bring them to any reasonable conformity."[4] After this encounter Winchester hastened to write to the Duke of Bedford bitterly complaining of Gloucester's conduct, and such was the state of affairs that Bedford was obliged to come over to England to make peace and avert the threatened civil war. Bedford, who became Protector directly he set foot upon English soil—Gloucester only holding that office during his absence—arrived in London on 10 January, 1426. He seems, however, to have come to England at the

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), pp. 53–4.

[2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 595.

[3] Coimbra was cousin to the King, for he was second son of John I of Portugal, and Philippa, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt.

[4] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 596.

end of December, for during the Christmas kept by the royal household at Eltham in 1425 it is stated that he gave the King a ruby set in a gold ring.[1] Upon his appearance in London the Mayor took the opportunity of presenting him with a pair of silver gilt bowls containing a thousand gold marks, but Winchester had so poisoned Bedford's mind against the City of London (as supporters of Gloucester) that he gave the Mayor scant thanks.

On 21 February a Council was summoned at St. Albans, but was later adjourned to Northampton. It was decided to call a Parliament at Leicester, but the precaution was taken of forbidding weapons to be worn in the streets. The people, however, took bats and staves, and even "stones and plummettes of lede and trussed them secretly in theyre slevys and bosomys," [2] and hence the assembly earned the name of the "Parliament of Bats." Gloucester at first actually refused to attend the Council if Winchester were present, but after he had been remonstrated with by the Archbishop and various other lords he consented to go. The quarrel was dealt with in the House of Lords, Gloucester formally bringing six articles of accusation against Winchester. He accused the Bishop of keeping him from his lodging in the Tower, of wishing to remove the young King from Eltham in order to get him under his own control, of preparing to assault Gloucester (in Southwark) as he was riding

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 285.
[2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 596.

to Eltham to prevent this, and of wrongfully accusing him to Bedford. He also lodged a strange accusation of treasonable attempts against Henry IV. Winchester, however, was able to return fairly satisfactory answers to all these charges.[1] The Lords awarded merely that he should declare his loyalty to all three Henries, disclaim any design against Gloucester's person, honour or estate, and clasp his hand "with friendly and loving words." The two lords were thus by Bedford's efforts outwardly reconciled and shook hands, "but yit," says a chronicler, "ther was prive wrath betuene thaym long tyme after." [2]

A quarrel had also arisen in Ireland between Talbot, who had been discharging the office of Lieutenant there since the death of the Earl of March, and the local magnate, James, Earl of Ormond, whom he accused of sedition. This difference also Bedford succeeded in adjusting to their satisfaction. Talbot's rule, however, was far from popular in Ireland; he is impolitely referred to as "a son of curses for his venom, and a devil for his evils." [3]

The infrequent presence of Bedford in England was taken advantage of for another purpose. On Whit-Sunday, 19 May, the little King—now in his fifth year—was solemnly knighted at Leicester by his good uncle John, and himself knighted a number of his

[1] They are given at length in *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), pp. 76–94.

[2] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), p. 54.

[3] Wright, *History of Ireland*, i. 236.

young nobility, including Richard of York, who was then nearly fifteen.

Winchester, who after the settlement of his quarrel with Gloucester had at Bedford's desire resigned the Chancellorship in order to lessen the likelihood of future collisions, was now allowed to console himself by accepting a cardinal's hat. In March 1427 he returned with Bedford to Calais, and was there invested by the Duke with his new dignity. His acceptance of it hardly tended to strengthen his position in England, for the English people always disliked anything tending towards an undue amount of papal control. Gloucester seized the opportunity to question the Cardinal's right to sit on the Council and continue to hold the Bishopric of Winchester on the grounds of his being a vassal of the Pope, but the attack was quashed. The new Cardinal threw his energies into the movement for the suppression of the Hussites, and remained abroad until September 1428.

On 30 December, 1426, the old Duke of Exeter—the King's great-uncle and guardian—died. He can hardly have had much influence upon the little King, and the fact that a new guardian was not appointed until June 1428 shows that the office was not as yet of great importance. In the meantime, Henry presumably remained in the care of his mother, Queen Katherine. The year 1427 seems to have passed uneventfully for him, except as regards the weather, for it was "unresonable of the wederyng" [1] and rained almost

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 598.

continually from Easter to Michaelmas. On New Year's Day 1428 it is recorded that he presented his mother with the ruby ring given him by Bedford at Christmas 1425. It looks as though the little King was even then feeling the pinch of poverty. He spent the Easter of that year at Hertford with his mother, and afterwards visited St. Albans. In May, the Privy Council ordained that Henry should inhabit his castles of Wallingford and Hertford in summer and those of Windsor and Berkhampstead in winter, but this rule does not seem to have been adhered to with any strictness. This summer, however, was to see a momentous change in Henry's life. Richard Beauchamp, the last of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, was now recalled from France, and on 1 June, 1428 was appointed the King's guardian and tutor. The Earl was exhorted by the Privy Council "to remain about the King's person, to do his utmost in teaching him good manners, literature, languages, nurture and courtesy and other studies necessary for so great a Prince; to exhort him to love, honour and fear the Creator, and to draw himself to virtues and eschew vice; to chastise him reasonably from time to time as occasion shall require." Also to lay before him "mirrours and examples of tymes passed of the good grace and ure prosperite and wele that have fallen to vertuous Kyngs." [1] Poor Henry, who grew up to be the most virtuous and most unfortunate of

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, iii. Chron. Cat. xl., and pp. 296, 299.

kings! It is very doubtful whether Warwick was such an excellent tutor to Henry as has generally been supposed. "Therle Richard," says Hardyng, "in mykell worthyhead enfourmed hym," and he was indeed much esteemed and honoured as the "father of courtesy," but his methods, though conscientious, were probably too robust for a gentle and sensitive child such as Henry. His rule extended over nine years of the most impressionable time of Henry's life, from his seventh to his sixteenth year. That he was in the habit of chastising his pupil we know, for at the age of ten or eleven the young King began to rebel against it and had to be dealt with on the subject by the Council, as will presently appear. It is, of course, possible that Henry was a troublesome and perverse child, but judging from his extreme meekness in after life it hardly seems probable. If it were so, to Warwick belongs the very doubtful credit of having chastised nearly all the spirit out of him. French writers abhor the Earl as the ruthless jailer of Jeanne d'Arc, and even allowing for their prejudice, and for the fact that he believed himself to be dealing with a dangerous heretic and possible sorceress, it must be admitted that he behaved to her with great cruelty, since he must have been responsible for the circumstances of her imprisonment. Moreover, it was he who inculcated in his docile pupil those ferocious sentiments towards Jeanne which could only have been instilled into his mind by a pitiless fanatic. One cannot but believe that it was Warwick himself, and

not the boy Henry, only in his tenth year, who was so anxious that Jeanne should not be allowed to die a natural death and thus escape death by fire.[1] One benefit, however, Warwick's tutorship did bring to Henry; the Earl had a son, also named Henry, about two years younger than the King, and these boys were brought up together and became boon companions. Their friendship continued after the death of the old Earl, and was only terminated by the death of young Warwick at the age of twenty-two. Thus Henry lost his only recorded friend just about the time of his own marriage. The young King had bestowed many honours upon him, and among other things had created him Duke of Warwick.

In the mean time Gloucester, although his quarrels with Cardinal Beaufort were for the time in abeyance, lost no time in committing other indiscretions. In 1427 he prepared to make a last attempt to regain his wife's lands in Holland, and won over the Earl of Salisbury to support him; but his project was promptly suppressed by Bedford, and he was finally induced to accept the mediation of Bedford and Cardinal Beaufort. When Parliament opened in the autumn he occupied himself in quarrelling with the House of Lords on questions of authority, while at the same time he was gravely scandalizing the Commons by openly living with Eleanor Cobham, his wife's chief woman-in-waiting, whom he had brought back with him from Flanders. In 1428 a deputation of women from the

[1] See following chapter.

Stocks market and elsewhere presented a petition in Parliament against Gloucester's evil life. It is noticeable that these women, being "respectably apparelled," were apparently allowed to enter the House in person to deliver their petition.[1] Gloucester subsequently prevailed upon the Pope to annul his former marriage with Jacqueline, and then wedded Eleanor Cobham. This affair probably did not tend to increase his popularity with the young King, who, when he grew up, permitted himself to be easily scandalized.

In September 1428 Cardinal Beaufort returned to England, but he was not greeted with enthusiasm, either through fear of papal encroachment or because Gloucester had been undermining his position. He was met only by the Bishop of Salisbury, with the Abbots of St. Albans and Waltham. The Cardinal made an attempt to raise funds in England for the Bohemian War, but met with no success. He raised a force of men, but in the following year was prevailed upon to lend them to Bedford for service in France.

In the autumn of 1429, at a meeting of the Council, the Archbishop of York announced that it was the wish of Bedford that Henry should be crowned in France as soon as possible. Bedford, indeed, was at his wits' end, for in July Charles had been crowned at Rheims, and all France seemed ready to rise at the bidding of Jeanne; but the Duke still hoped that an impressive coronation in Paris might tend to

[1] *Annales Monast. St. Albani*, auctore ignoto (Rolls Ser.), V. i. 20.

arouse loyalty to the English. Before this could be done, however, it was necessary that Henry should be crowned in England. Parliament was therefore summoned, and decided that the King should be crowned in London without delay. The date fixed upon was 6 November, St. Leonard's Day. The streets of London were adorned with much pageantry, but, as Michelet remarks, the spectacles were all moral: there were fountains representative of Generosity, Grace and Mercy, but they did not flow; one received a cup of wine on discreet demand.[1] The day was fine and there were huge crowds, so that a priest, a woman and several other persons were crushed to death. Several cut-purses were taken and their ears cropped;[2] and that nothing should be wanting to the festivities, remarks Michelet with sarcasm, a heretic was burnt at Smithfield.

The ceremony at Westminster was very gorgeous. Warwick brought the little King to the abbey, dressed in "a clothe of scharlet furryd," and he was led up on to a high platform erected between the high altar and the choir, "and there the kyng was sette in hys sete in the myddys of the schaffold there, beholdynge the pepylle alle aboute saddely and wysely."[3] After the Archbishop had made his proclamation, the little King went up to the altar, and "humely layde hym downe prostrate, hys hedde to the auter warde, longe

[1] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vi. 313.
[2] *Annales Monast. St. Albani*, auctore ignoto (Rolls Ser.), V. i. 44.
[3] *Historical Collection of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), p. 165.

tyme lyyng stylle," while the prelates "radde exercysyons" over him and sang anthems, after which the Archbishops "wente to hym and strypte hym owte of hys clothys in to hys schyrte." Many times during the ceremony was the poor boy "dyspoyled of hys gere" and clothed again in various robes.[1] At last the great crown of St. Edward was set upon his head, and he returned to his seat, with "ij byschoppys stondyng on every syde of hym, helpyng hym to bere the crowne, for hyt was ovyr hevy for hym, for he was of a tendyr age." Mass then followed, Henry "knelynge with humylyte and grete devocyon"; at the conclusion of which he was escorted with a great and stately procession to Westminster Hall. The King walked between the Bishops of Durham and Bath, "and my goode Lorde of Warwyke bare uppe his trayne."[2]

There followed a great banquet in Westminster Hall, at which the King was served with three courses. Judging from the menu, as given by Fabyan, a course was as good as a meal.

First Course—

Frument[3] wyth venyson.
Viand royall[4] planted losynges of golde and enarmed.
Boar heads in caskes of gold and enarmed.

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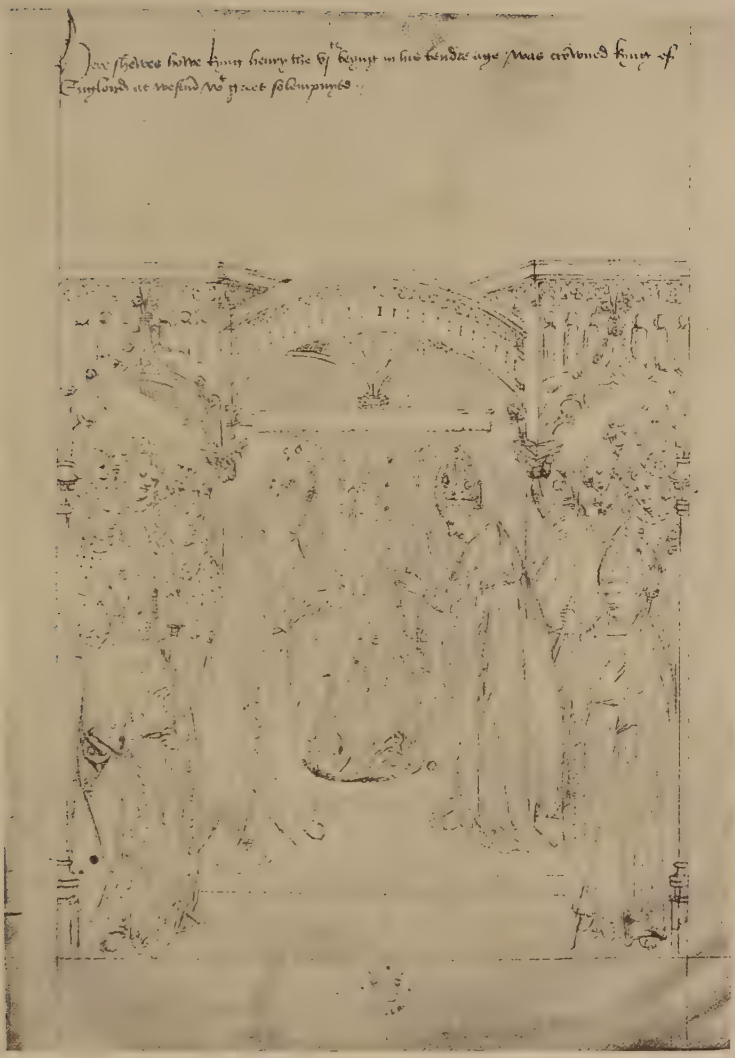
[1] *Historical Collection of a Citizen of London*, 166 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 167–8.

[3] Frument was made of wheat and sugar boiled in milk.

[4] A compound made of wine, eggs, ground-rice, honey, spices, and some kind of fruit, such as quinces or mulberries, and ornamented on the top.



HOW KING HENRY VI. WAS CROWNED KING OF ENGLAND AT WESTMINSTER

Warwick Pageant. Brit. Mus., Cottonian M.S., Julius E. IV

Befe wyth motten boylyd.
Capon stewyd.
Sygnet rosted.
Heyron rosted.
Great pyke or luce.
A rede leche [1] wyth lyons coruyn [2] therein.
Custarde royall wyth a lyoparde of golde syttyng therein and holdyng a floure de lyce.
Frytour [3] of sunne facyon with a floure de lyce therein.
A sotyltye [4] of Saynt Edwarde and Saynt Louys armyd and uppon eyther hys cote armoure, holdyng betwene them a fygure lyke unto Kyng Henry standynge also in hys cote armoure, and a scrypture passyng from theym both, sayeng beholde ii parfight kynges under one cote armour. And under the fete of the sayde sayntes was wryten thys balade—

"Holy Sayntes, Edwarde and Saint Lowice
Conserve this braunche borne of your blessed blode,
Lyve amonge cristen moste soveraygne of price,
Enheritour of the flourdelice so gode:
This sixt Henry to reygne and to be wyse
God graunt he may to be your mode,
And that he may resemble your knighthode and vertue
Pray ye hertely unto our lord Jesu."

Second course—

Viand blank [5] barred wyth golde.
Gely [6] partey wryten and noted with Te Deum laudamus.
Pygge endored.[7]

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[1] A leche (properly a slice) seems to have been a kind of mould composed of eggs, raisins and dates, spices, and sometimes meat. It was cut into slices and coloured with saffron and other spices now unknown. According to others it was made of cream, isinglass, sugar and almonds. [2] Crowned.

[3] A sort of fritter or pancake.

[4] A device of sugar and paste, with which it was customary to close each course.

[5] White.

[6] Jelly. Seems to have usually been a sort of aspic of meat or game.

[7] Glazed.

Crane rosted.
Byttore.[1]
Conyes.[2]
Chekyns.
Partryche.
Peacock enhakyll.[3]
Great Breme.

A white leche planted wyth a rede antelop wyth a crowne aboute hys necke wyth a chayne of golde.

Flampagne [4] powdered wyth leopardes and floure de lyce of golde.

A Frytoure garnysshed wyth a leopardes hede and ii estrych fedars.

A sotyltye, an emperour and a kynge arayed in mantelles of garters which fygured Sigismunde ye emperour and Henry the V. And a fygure lyke unto Kyng Henry ye VI. knelyng to fore them wyth this balade takkyd by hym—

> " Agayne miscreauntes the emperour Sigismunde
> Hath shewed his myght, which is imperiall.
> And Henry the V. a noble knyght was founde
> For Christes cause in actes marciall;
> Cherysshed the churche, to lollers gave a fall,
> Gyvyng example to kynges that succede,
> And to theyr braunche here in especiall,
> Whyle he doth reygne to love God and drede."

Third course—

Quinces in compost.[5]
Blaund-sure [6] powderyd wyth quarter foyles gylt.
Venyson.
Egrettes.
Curlew.

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[1] Bittern. [2] Rabbits.

[3] " Dressed," *i. e.* presumably with the feathers on.

[4] Perhaps the same as flampoyntes, a dish of " interlarded " pork, grated cheese, sugar, etc.

[5] Compost was made of herbs, raisins, spices, wine, honey and other things boiled together.

[6] A sort of spiced pudding boiled with a little fat cheese.

Cok and partryche.
Plover.
Quayles.
Snytes.[1]
Great byrdes.
Larkys.
Carpe.
Crabbe.
Leche of iii colours.

A bake meate lyke shylde quartered red and whyte, set wyth losynges gylt and floures of borage.

A Frytoure cryspyd.

A sotyltye of oure Lady syttynge wyth her chylde in her lappe, and she holding a crowne in her hande. Saint George and Saynt Denys knelynge on eyther syde presented to her Kynge Henryes Fygure beryng in hande thys balade—

> " O blessed lady Christes mother dere,
> And thou Saynt George that called art her knight,
> Holy Saint Denys O marter moste entere
> The sixt Henry here present in your syght,
> Shedeth of your grace on hym your hevenly lighte,
> His tender youth with vertue doth avaunce
> Borne by discent and by title of right
> Justly to reygne in Englande and in Fraunce." [2]

From which elaborate menu it may be perceived that though we may have advanced in the arts of poetry and spelling, we must yield to our ancestors of the fifteenth century the palm in the gentle art of devising confectionery.

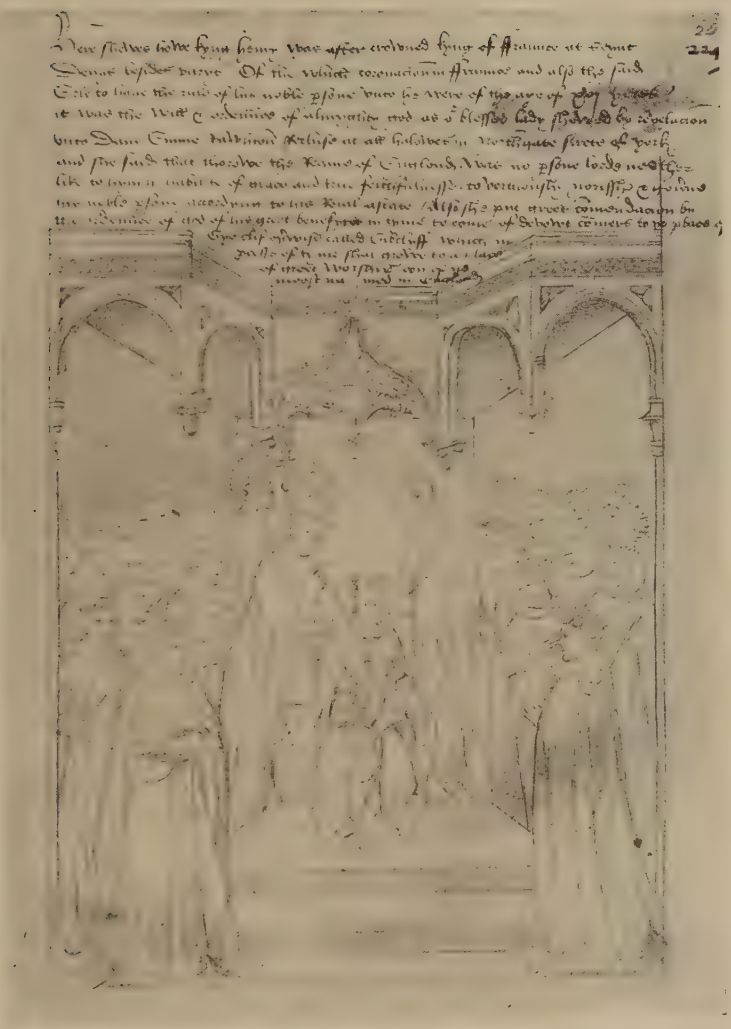
The King being crowned, it was now decided by Parliament that the Protectorship should—nominally at least, cease, although Henry was barely eight years old. Gloucester therefore resigned the office,

[1] Snipe. [2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, pp. 599–601.

but without prejudice to the claim of Bedford, and only kept the title of Chief Counsellor.

The way being thus prepared by the English coronation for the desired ceremony in Paris, in December 1429 letters were addressed in Henry's name to the towns of France stating that "in compassion for their miserable condition he had lately resolved to proceed to France in person, immediately after his coronation, with so powerful an army that he trusted before his return to enable his good people of France to live in peace and tranquillity"[1]—a hope which was very far from being fulfilled. In April 1430 Henry was taken over to Calais with reinforcements, accompanied by the Dukes of York and Norfolk, three bishops, eight earls and eleven barons. Such was the troubled state of the country—for the French were almost on the borders of Picardy and had lately advanced to Château Gaillard—that the young King was kept at Calais for three months before it was considered safe for him to advance. By July, however, the English had recovered twelve towns on the north of Paris, and what was of still greater importance, Jeanne d'Arc had been captured at Compiègne by the Burgundians. Henry was therefore able to enter Rouen on 29 July, where he remained for nearly eighteen months, and finally entered Paris in December 1431. He was crowned there on 16 December, but was hurried away at the end of the month. The King

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. Privy Council* (Rolls Ser.), iv. Chron. Cat. iii.



HOW KING HENRY WAS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE
AT ST. DENIS, BESIDE PARIS
Warwick Pageant. Brit. Mus., Cottonian M.S., Julius E. IV

landed at Dover on 9 February, 1432, after having been absent from England for almost two years. The gentlemen and commoners of Kent, all arrayed in red hoods, met him on Barham Downs, between Dover and Canterbury, and escorted him with honour, and without undue haste to Blackheath.[1] There Henry was received, on 20 February, by the citizens of London, who presented him with an address, after which he rode on to Deptford, where he was met by a procession of ecclesiastics. Taking the route thence through Southwark to the City, the royal cavalcade passed on to St. Paul's through streets adorned with many pageants, and after a service of thanksgiving in the cathedral the King was suffered to proceed to his palace of Westminster.[2]

Not content with this formal welcome, on 22 February the citizens of London further displayed their loyalty by sending a deputation to present Henry with the sum of £1000 enclosed in a gold casket, accompanied by the following pleasant address: "Most cristen prince, the good folk of youre notable Cite of London, otherwise cleped your Chambre, besechen in her most lowely wise that they nowe be recomanded un to yor hynesse, ant th^{t} can like youre noble grace to resceyve this litell yefte, yoven with as good will and lovyng hertes as any yefte was yoven to eny erthly prince."[3]

During the King's absence the country had not

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, pp. 603–7.
[2] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 276. [3] *Ibid.*, 277.

been without disturbance. Shortly before Whitsuntide 1431, a rather obscure but interesting rising was attempted in Oxfordshire. The leader of the movement was a Lollard calling himself John or Jack Sharp of Wigmoreland, but even contemporary writers seem not to have known whether his real name was William Perkyns or William Mandeville.[1] Fabyan says that he was a weaver and a bailiff of Abingdon.[2] Urged by the distressed state of the common people, and inflamed by the injustice of their wretched condition contrasted with the immense wealth held by the prelates of the Church, he revived the Lollard petition of 1410, which had then been considered by Parliament and rejected. This document contains a strange and interesting scheme for the relief of the poor. The temporalities of the Bishops, Abbots and Priors were to be confiscated. Each of the larger Bishoprics, with its dependent Abbeys and Priories, was assessed at 20,000 marks, and the smaller at 10,000 or 12,000 each; the total being estimated at 332,000 marks. The "spiritualities" of the prelates were of course left to them. These funds, suggested the petition, should be used to create fifteen earldoms, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and a hundred "houses of almes." The persons thus exalted were to use their wealth in employing agricultural labour. Each earl was to expend a thousand marks

[1] Riley, *Ann. Joh. Amundesham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 63; *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), iv. 13.

[2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 602.

yearly and cultivate four "ploughlands"[1] in his domains. The knights (whom Jack Sharp forgets to mention) were doubtless to do likewise in proportion; the esquires were each to expend £20 yearly, cultivating two ploughlands within their domains. Each "house of almes" was to distribute a hundred marks yearly. It was also petitioned that each town should be required to "kepe hys owne beggars" that were unable to work for their meat, as had been provided by the Statute of Cambridge, and that if they were unable to support them all the houses of alms were to help them. It was calculated that when all this was done there would still be £20,000 left for the King. It was added that £110,000 more might with advantage be taken, now "wasted among worldly clerkys and religyous," which would make a thousand more knights and a thousand good priests and clerks "to preche the wurd of Godde wyth oute flateryng or beggyng or worldly mede to seke therfore." It was bitterly complained that the worldly religious did no work and took away the profit that should come to "true men." The plundered prelates were not to be left without means of support, for it was estimated that £143,724 10*s.* 4½*d.* would still be left to them.[2]

This petition was addressed by John Sharp to the Duke of Gloucester and the Parliament, "besechyn mekely alle the comuns to ben herd of hem."

[1] The ploughland was anciently assumed to be about 120 acres.

[2] Riley, *Ann. Joh. Amundesham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 453.

The striking feature of the scheme is the wholesale artificial creation of employers of labour. Evidently there was no deep-seated ill-feeling between the labourers and their masters, in spite of the friction between them that had arisen owing to the agricultural conditions after the Black Death.[1] The people as a whole (if the petition represents them) must have approved of the aristocracy and have felt some trust in them, while their hatred was directed towards the luxurious and worldly clergy. Their wish, however, was merely to remove from them their enormous and superfluous wealth and direct it to better uses; they do not show the least symptom of wishing to abolish any rank of the clergy or to interfere with their spiritual functions so long as they were worthily carried out. It was evidently an attempt to remedy the unhappy condition of those who had become dislodged from their agricultural pursuits by the increase of enclosure for pasturage, and to whom the towns with their Craft Gilds had turned a cold shoulder. Hence the desire to revive the cultivation of manorial lands.

Jack Sharp began his movement by distributing "bills" on the subject of his petition in London, Coventry, Oxford and other towns,[2] and he thus gathered a band of followers at Abingdon. The clergy were infuriated at this attack on their worldly goods, and did not hesitate to ascribe to its leader

[1] See above, pp. 16 to 18.

[2] Riley, *Ann. Joh. Amundesham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 63.

the desire to overthrow the Church. The chroniclers, mostly monks, denounce him as a heretic and an "iniquitous pest," and say that he expressed a desire that priests' heads should be as cheap as sheep's heads.[1] Yet another says that his object was to "have destroid the chirche and the lordis spirituel and temporel," [2] which, unless Sharp in an excess of Lollardism had gone far beyond his own petition, was a gross exaggeration. We are not told that he did anything more than assemble a company of Lollards at Abingdon, but Gloucester, who was Lieutenant of the kingdom during Henry's absence, determined to put down the movement with a strong hand. Leaving Greenwich he rode to Abingdon to destroy this "assembly of heretics," which quickly dispersed before him. Jack Sharp, alias William Perkyns, fled to Oxford, but his whereabouts being discovered by one William Warbelton with the help of friends, information was given to the Chancellor of Oxford and the bailiffs of the town, and the offender was taken on the evening of the Thursday before Whit-Sunday 1431.[3] On Tuesday in Whitweek he was hanged, drawn and quartered and his head placed on London Bridge. Thus the unfortunate Jack Sharp was done to death in 1431 for venturing to bring forward a petition for the presentation of which in 1410 no one had suffered. The names of only two of his followers are known:

[1] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 97.
[2] *Eng. Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 54.
[3] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, iv. 107.

John Keterige, who was taken at Salisbury, and gave information against John Longe, of Abingdon,[1] as supplying him with "bills." They were both hanged, and their fate was shared by seven others who were taken at Oxford with Jack Sharp. John Hals, Justice of the King's Bench, was responsible for the execution of various others in Coventry and the neighbourhood. In November, the Council made a large grant to the zealous Gloucester "in consideration of his great charge and labour in keeping the realm against the malice of the King's rebels, traitors and enemies, and especially in the capture and execution of that horrible heretic and iniquitous traitor who called himself John Sharp," in order that the Duke might the better "maintain his estate and retinue for the defence of the church, the Catholic faith and the King's true subjects."[2]

Owing to his office of Lieutenant of the realm, and also to the opportune absence of Cardinal Beaufort, Gloucester was able to make the most of these opportunities for the strengthening of his position; and when the young King returned he contrived to effect sweeping changes in the ministry, which made him still more secure. It seems likely that, during the year that followed, he made efforts to gain personal influence over Henry, and succeeded in so far that the young King actually ventured to show signs of something like rebellion against Warwick's stern rule.

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, iv. 99.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv., xvii and 104; *Cal. Pat.*, 1429–36, 185.

The Earl became aware that some one had been poisoning the King's mind against him, for the boy was no longer so docile and studious as he had formerly been. Warwick perceived that this tendency must be corrected at once if his office of tutor were to be properly fulfilled; accordingly, on 29 November, 1432, he laid the case before the Council in much detail.[1]

"For the goode reule, demeenyng and seuretee of the Kynges persone," he began, "and draght of hym to vertue and conyng, and eschewyng of eny thyng that myght yeue (give) empechement or let therto or cause eny charge, defaulte or blame to be leyde upon the Erle of Warrewyk atte eny tyme withouten his desert, he consideryng that perill and besynesse of his charge aboute the Kynges persone groweth so that auctoritee and power yeven to hym before suffiseth hym nought withouten more therto, desireth therfore thees thyngges that folowen."

In the first place he desired power to appoint and dismiss the officials about the King's person, to which the Council agreed, with the reservation that the four knights or squires of the body should be appointed with the consent of Bedford or Gloucester.

Secondly, he asked power to remove "eny persone in his discrecion suspect of mysgovernance and not behoveful nor expedient to be about the Kyng"; and also that he might be freely discharged of his "occupation and besynesse" about the King's person "for

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, iv. 132 *et seq.*

sekeness and other causes necessarie and resonable." To both of these the Council agreed.

The fourth article is particularly interesting. Warwick asks "that consideryng howe, blessid be God, the Kyng is growen in years (he was nearly eleven), in stature of his persone and also in conceyte and knoweleche of his hiegh and royale auctoritee and estate, the whiche naturelly causen hym, and frome day to day as he groweth shul causen hym more and more to grucche with chastysing and to lothe it, so that it may resonably be doubted leste he wol conceyve ayenst the saide Erle, or eny other that wol take upon hym to chastyce hym for his defaultes, disples[ure] or indignacion therfor, the whiche withouten due assistence is not esy to be born; [may] it lyke therfore to my Lorde of Gloucester and to alle the lordes of the Kynges Counseil to promitte to the saide Erle and assure hym thei shal fermely and trewly assisten hym in the exercise of the charge and occupacion that he hath aboute the Kynges persone, namely in chastysing of hym for his defaultes, and supporte the said Erle therynne; and yf the Kyng at eny tyme wol conceyve for that cause indignacion ayenst the said Erle, my saide Lorde of Gloucester and lordes shal doo alle her trewe diligence and power to remoeve the Kyng therfro." The Council agreed, but still Warwick was not quite satisfied, and returns to the subject in the seventh article: "To thentent that it may be knowen to the Kyng that it procedith of thassent, advis and agreement of my Lorde of Glou-

cestre and all my lords of the Kynges Counseil that the Kyng be chastysed for his defaultes or trespas, and that for awe therof he forebere the more to doo mys and entende the more besily to vertue and to lernyng, the said Erle desireth that my Lorde of Gloucestre and my saide other lordes of the Counseil, or grete part of them . . . come to the Kynges presence and there make to be declared to hym theire agreement in that behalve." The Council, thus pressed, agreed to deal with Henry on the subject when he next came to London.

Furthermore Warwick, who certainly did not lack thoroughness in his methods, obtained power to remove the King "into what place hym thynketh necessarie for helth of his body and seuretee of his persone," and even requested that no one should be allowed to have an interview with Henry unless he, or some one appointed by him, were present; this because he declared that the King had been "sturred by some frome his lernyng and spoken to of divers matiers not behovefull." The Council allowed this except in the case of "suche persones as for neghnesse of blode and for theire estate owe of reson to be suffred to speke with the Kyng."

Lastly, Warwick requested that he should be told if there were ever any causes of complaint against him, "that he may answere therto and not dwelle in hevy or sinistre conceyte or opinion withouten his desert and withouten answere."

It is not recorded that the poor little Henry ever

again ventured to be rebellious; such a system might well have succeeded in crushing a stronger spirit than his, and it is hardly to be wondered at that he grew up more fitted for a monastery than for the throne of a turbulent country. So thoroughly was the pursuit of learning and virtue instilled into him that in after life, according to his chroniclers, he was always only too ready to forsake either state affairs or "frivoling" for reading, writing, or prayers.

When Parliament met in 1432 Cardinal Beaufort returned to England and had a brief skirmish with Gloucester on the old subject of præmunire,[1] in which he came off victorious, and also succeeded in regaining payment for some jewels of his which Gloucester had appropriated. He was, however, soon recalled to the Continent to sit on the Council of Basle.

In 1433 Bedford himself came over from France and attended Parliament in July. After publicly thanking him for his services in France, the Commons presented a petition that he should abandon the war and remain in England for the good government of the country. Bedford, who could not fail to see the wisdom of this course, was quite willing to agree and to accept a Regency; negotiations for peace were actually opened and ambassadors came over from France. These reported to their countrymen that

[1] A "præmunire" was the offence of "paying that obedience to a papal process which constitutionally belonged to the Sovereign alone."

Henry was "a very beautiful child and well grown." [1] But Gloucester unfortunately did not share the views of the party in favour of peace. He does not seem to have felt anything but affection for the person of Bedford, but since he liked to be at the head of affairs he preferred to have his good brother out of England. But besides this, his haughty nature felt it unbecoming to the national pride to make peace with France and thus acknowledge defeat. It was easy enough for him to work up the feelings of a large section of Parliament in this way, and his militant policy, unfortunately for his country, was quite successful. The proposals for peace were abandoned, Gloucester's proposition for the renewal of the war was carried in Parliament, and Bedford returned to his hopeless task in France. He never saw England again, for in the following year, worn out by his ceaseless labours, he died at Rouen on 15 September, 1435. By his death England lost her only able administrator, and the only man who could have hoped to quiet the factions that were so soon to play havoc in England. Gloucester and the other self-seeking statesmen who from time to time found themselves in power were left without a check, while the former now occupied the position of heir presumptive to his nephew the King.

The year 1435 again saw proposals for peace, but Gloucester's influence was unimpaired and they were again rejected.

[1] Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Hen. VI*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 225.

Early in 1437 the King lost his mother, Queen Katherine. She, however, seems to have had little or nothing to do with him since about the time of Warwick's appointment as tutor. This was not owing to any action on the part of the Earl, but because she had then felt at liberty to retire into private life, and without the knowledge of the Court had been married to Owen Tudor. The exact date of the marriage is unknown, but since her first child was born about 1430, it probably took place in 1428 or 1429. Owen Tudor, said to have been descended from a Prince of North Wales, was a Welsh squire who had held the office of Clerk of the Wardrobe to the Queen, and had thus had ample opportunity of commending himself to her. Tradition relates that on an occasion when he was dancing before the Queen at Windsor he stumbled and fell into Katherine's lap, an accident which she is said to have taken in no ill part. They lived in such retirement that, extraordinary as it may seem, three sons were born to them without any news of it reaching the Court. These sons were Edmund, afterwards Earl of Richmond, who became the father of Henry VII; Jasper, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, and Owen, who became a monk. However, upon the birth of her fourth child, Margaret, in 1436, the situation became known, and the wrath of Gloucester descended upon her. Poor Katherine, who was very ill, took refuge at Bermondsey Abbey, but her children were taken from her and given to the sister of the Earl of Suffolk to bring up.

This blow probably hastened her end, for she died at Bermondsey on 3 January, 1437. Her husband, Owen Tudor, was imprisoned in Newgate for daring to marry a royal princess, but he was afterwards released and allowed to retire to Wales.

The same year died the King's grandmother, Joan of Navarre, Queen of Henry IV; she had long lived in retirement at King's Langley in Hertfordshire. She died at Havering-at-Bower in Essex, and was buried at Canterbury. "Also," a solemn chronicler relates—inserting the event between the deaths of the two Queens—"this year all the lions in the Tower died in one night." [1]

At this juncture the King, being almost sixteen years old, was declared to be of age and no longer to require the services of a tutor. Two different reasons are given for Warwick's departure: in the words of one chronicler—

> "Therle Richard of Warwike then conceyved
> Of the symplesse and great innocense
> Of Kyng Henry, as he it well perceyved,
> Desired to be discharged of his diligence
> About the kyng; and by his sapience
> Was sent to Fraunce and so was regent,
> And kepte it well in all establishment." [2]

The other, and far more probable one, was that the state of affairs in France called for the presence of an old and experienced leader. The Regency was now done away with, and thus the King's minority came to an end.

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 17.
[2] Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 396.

CHAPTER III

1423–1435 : THE WORK OF BEDFORD IN FRANCE

THE condition of affairs in France in the year 1422 has already been examined in a previous chapter. At this time the line of English garrisons stretched along the north coast of France from Abbeville in the east, close to the mouth of the Somme, to the confines of Brittany in the west, while inland they extended south to Paris.

Bedford prepared to move early in 1423. He was possessed of an army seasoned by seven years of victory, and this, combined with his capable generalship and wise administration, enabled him to push forward gradually the English arms for another seven years.

In the first place, however, it was necessary to consolidate his position and secure friendly relations with his neighbours. Accordingly on 17 April, 1423 he concluded a triple defensive alliance at Amiens between England and the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, by which the two latter recognized the sovereignty of Henry VI in France. The alliance was further cemented by two marriages: Bedford himself married Anne, sister of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and Arthur, Comte de Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, married Margaret, Burgundy's second sister. The loyalty of Brittany to England

was, however, of short duration. Bedford's wife received Artois in dower from her brother, a province which formed a substantial safeguard on England's eastern frontier. Bedford's marriage with Anne, who seems to have made him an excellent wife, was moreover very popular in Paris, while Burgundy remained loyal to England as long as his sister lived. The prudent Bedford had thus been mindful of Henry the Fifth's dying injunctions; he did not personally care for the Duke of Burgundy, whom he considered frivolous, but maintained very friendly relations with him for political reasons, and was himself really popular with the Burgundians. His brother Gloucester, on the other hand, came within an ace of breaking up the alliance by his reckless behaviour.

The Duke of Burgundy, who numbered Flanders among his dominions, had long coveted the neighbouring states of Hainault and Holland, persuading himself that his position was not safe without the control of them. Accordingly Jean sans Peur, father of Duke Philip, had manipulated a marriage between his niece Jacqueline, the young and lively heiress of these desirable lands, and his cousin the Duke of Brabant, a sickly and dissipated young man whom he considered was very unlikely to have heirs. By this arrangement he hoped that the succession would naturally fall into his hands. Jacqueline, however, was a lady of spirit and was not so easily disposed of. Finding that she detested her husband, she left him after three years and fled to England in 1421, where she promptly

fell in love with the handsome and accomplished Humphrey of Gloucester. Gloucester, being much attracted by the idea of gaining possession of Hainault and Holland, which could not fail to be a most valuable acquisition to English trade, was far from discouraging Jacqueline's advances, and her divorce from the Duke of Brabant was sued for. An obstacle was thrown in the way of the lovers' plans by the not unnatural refusal of Pope Martin V to consent to this convenient arrangement, and considerable delay ensued. There remained, however, the Antipope Benedict XIII, who since his deposition by the Council of Constance had been living in obscurity at Peniscola in Spain. Benedict, charmed to find that his authority was recognized by any one, and always ready to contradict his rival, granted the required divorce without hesitation. Gloucester and Jacqueline were accordingly married in 1423, a proceeding which "astonished many persons"[1] and caused great scandal.

When Gloucester claimed Holland and Hainault in right of his wife, Burgundy, infuriated by this dislocation of his plans, announced his intention of supporting the Duke of Brabant, and even went so far as to open secret negotiations for peace with the French King, which, however, came to nothing. Gloucester thus came into direct collision with Burgundy and actually began to raise an army preparatory to going to war with his country's most valuable ally.

[1] *Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., iv. 143.

Bedford, with great difficulty, managed to keep the peace between them for about a year, but by October 1424 Gloucester's preparations were completed, and crossing to Calais with Jacqueline, he proceeded to invade Hainault. There he "was at the fyrst worsshupfully resseyved,"[1] and was fairly successful on the whole in gaining control of the country. The merchants and citizens had offered Jacqueline a £30,000 farm, but it was refused. He then aroused still further irritation by sending the Earl Marshal to invade Brabant, a province to which he had no right whatever. The result of this was the passing of several exceedingly quarrelsome letters between Gloucester and the Duke of Burgundy, which culminated in a challenge to personal combat on the part of Duke Philip, the Emperor Sigismund being suggested as umpire. The challenge was eagerly accepted by the impetuous Gloucester, but Bedford at this point firmly interposed, and finally, in 1425, induced Pope Martin V to issue a bull forbidding the duel.

Gloucester meanwhile, whom "the importunacie of the woman (Jacqueline) had begoon alreadie above measure to make wearie,"[2] had grown tired of a wife whose possessions caused him so much trouble to obtain. He left Jacqueline at Mons, where she parted from him "with great lamentations,"[3] and indeed she

[1] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* (ed. Gairdner), 59.

[2] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's English History* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 12.

[3] *Chron. of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., iv. 231.

had good cause to lament, for she never saw him again. After his departure the Brabanters grew bold, and surrounding Mons persuaded the inhabitants to give up their lady. She was conducted to Ghent and kept there as the prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy. Shortly after, however, she escaped disguised as a man, and fled into Holland, where she was allowed to remain. Gloucester returned to England early in 1425 and was sharply reprimanded by the Council for his ill-judged expedition and his behaviour to Burgundy. They refused to provide him with any money or other aid for his selfish designs, and, in short, disowned all responsibility for his actions. Bedford was thus enabled to pacify Burgundy by representing to him that it was a personal and not a national offence, and peace was finally concluded between Burgundy and Jacqueline in 1428 on condition that she acknowledged Burgundy as her heir. Gloucester before this had persuaded Martin V to annul his marriage with Jacqueline, which was easy, since that Pope had never acknowledged it, in spite of a request from Bedford in 1424, and he thereupon married his wife's favourite waiting-woman, Eleanor Cobham, whom he had brought back with him from Holland in 1425.

We must now return to 1423 in order to follow the course of the English arms from that date.

Bedford's first task was to complete the occupation of Picardy, and early in the year he was successful in expelling the French from Noyelle, Rue, and Crotoy

at the mouth of the Somme, the last strongholds of the Dauphin in that district. In June he went to Troyes to celebrate his marriage, and gained several small successes on his return journey. In July the French at last made a move, and an army was sent towards the Yonne to secure the communications between Bourges, where the Dauphin held his Court, and Champagne. Aided by a large body of Scots, they laid siege to Crevant, a town on the Yonne in the territory of the Duke of Burgundy. Bedford, accompanied by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, marched south to raise the siege. Aided by the Burgundians, he forded the river and attacked the French and Scotch, who suffered a severe defeat, their discomfiture being completed by a sally of the garrison of Crevant. At this battle many Scots were slain, and Sir William Stewart of Darnley, their constable, taken prisoner. The result of the victory was to advance the English frontier eastward to the Meuse, thus taking in Champagne, the governorship of which was given to the Earl of Salisbury, while a stronger hold was acquired over the Burgundian lands east of Bourges.

Next year, 1424, the English arms were successful in reducing the French strongholds to the west. In July, while the English were operating round Ivry, Charles made another great effort, raised an army and marched into Southern Normandy. Outside Verneuil his army, led by Alençon and Douglas (who had been created Duke of Touraine) were met by the English. The French were "somewhat appalled by reason of

the sudden arrival" [1] of the enemy, and were undecided what course to take, but Bedford succeeded in drawing them from their position and a fierce fight ensued on 17 August. The battle was hard fought, the French and Scots slightly outnumbering the English, but the day was decided by the English baggage guard, who delivered a flank attack at the critical moment. The English suffered considerable loss, which Bedford could ill afford, but the chief slaughter was among the unfortunate Scots, "so that they might well say," remarks a chronicler with more poetical feeling than lucidity, "in the croke off the mone went they thedirward and in the wilde wanynge kem they homward." [2] The Earl of Douglas was slain,[3] with the Earl of Buchan and many Frenchmen as well as Scots. The Duke of Alençon was captured. The way into Maine was now open to the English and a general advance followed, considerable progress being made during that year and the next. In spite of the peril to the Burgundian alliance brought about in the autumn of 1424 by Gloucester's rash invasion of Hainault, the English succeeded in advancing as far as Sillé-le-Guillaume and Montfort, not far from Lemans, for Charles, after his effort at Verneuil, had again sunk into apathy.

During 1425 the whole of Maine was subdued, and Bedford was thus able to return to England for a

[1] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 8.
[2] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 285.
[3] In 1425, Margaret, Countess of Douglas, claimed a third of Touraine as her rightful dower.

while to adjust the quarrels of Gloucester and Winchester, which threatened to cause serious trouble at home. Warwick, Salisbury and Suffolk were left in charge of affairs in France.

This year, however, John Duke of Brittany detached himself from his alliance with England and Burgundy and joined Charles, being induced on 7 October to make an alliance with the latter at Saumur. He was probably persuaded to take this course by his brother Arthur, Comte de Richemont, who was then high in favour with the French King, and was in this year made Constable of France. Richemont at this time had great influence over Charles VII, and being an ambitious and energetic man, might have roused him to sustained action; but he unfortunately made the great mistake of installing La Trémouille in his place during the long absences enforced by his office of constable. This La Trémouille, who was a vain and worthless man of forty years, quickly undermined the influence of Richemont, and used his power over Charles to encourage him in the pursuit of every kind of pleasure and dissipation. He plunged him into quarrels with his own supporters, and for many years effectually prevented him from attending to the recovery of his kingdom. The only person who was able for a time to set his influence at naught was Jeanne d'Arc, whom he in consequence cordially disliked.

During the year 1426 the war languished owing to Bedford's absence in England. The English, indignant

at the desertion of the Duke of Brittany, declared war upon him, and a few towns within his boundaries were captured, but peace was patched up again in the following year.

At the end of March 1427 Bedford returned to France, but little was done during the summer. In September the English experienced some reverses, Salisbury being surprised and repulsed with considerable loss at Montargis in Orleanais by two French captains, and a number of towns also being lost in Maine. These, however, were merely spasmodic efforts on the part of isolated French leaders. Charles was too much occupied with his favourites, and too poor to trouble about the conduct of the war. The funds provided for the payment of the army were misappropriated, the energetic Constable de Richemont was in disgrace, and the resistance to the English had sunk to a mere guerilla warfare carried on by various independent captains. The most famous of these were Étienne de Vignolles, commonly known as La Hire, and the Bastard of Orleans, afterwards Comte de Dunois, who in conjunction had defeated Salisbury at Montargis, and who will presently be met with again. Such was the state of Charles's finances that in 1428 the city of Tours took pity upon the poverty of the Queen and presented her with linen for her underclothes. Charles and his Court were reduced to living upon the inhabitants of whatever place they were in, and while they were in such straits it was impossible to maintain the army efficiently.

After the reverse at Montargis, Bedford dispatched Salisbury to England to induce the Council to send him powerful reinforcements; and early in 1428 Warwick was recalled from France to act as tutor to the young King in place of the Duke of Exeter, who had recently died. Salisbury, with the assistance of his own funds, managed to raise 2700 men in England and returned to France with them in July 1428. With these reinforcements Bedford had planned an expedition to reduce Angers on the Loire, in the heart of Anjou, but the Council of Regency at Paris decided, not unwisely, that it would be more advantageous to reduce the important city of Orleans, the key of Central France.[1] This decision does not seem to have been altogether approved by Bedford; he did not join the expedition himself, but remained at Chartres to direct the campaign from there. Salisbury, however, certainly did not, as has sometimes been thought, act contrary to orders in going to Orleans.

Salisbury marched slowly south by way of Nogent-le-Roi, gaining many towns on his way, and reached the neighbourhood of Orleans at the beginning of October. Before preparing for the siege, he strengthened his position by securing the adjacent towns of Meung, Beaugency, Jargeau and Châteauneuf-sur-Loire. His army consisted of about three thousand English and a number of Burgundians, who, however, did not remain throughout the siege. Orleans, one of the most strongly fortified places in France, is situated

[1] *Chron. of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., iv. 294.

on the northern bank of the Loire, and then, as now, was connected with the south bank by a great bridge of nineteen arches. Access to it from the town was gained by the Porte St. Catherine; the northern end of the bridge was defended by the Bastille de St. Antoine, while the southern end was protected by the Bastille des Tourelles and an extensive earthwork. The city was well furnished with engines of war, and also possessed seventy-one pieces of the lately introduced artillery, the defence being conducted by the Bastard of Orleans and the Governor Raoul de Gaucourt.

Finding his army too small to surround the town completely, Salisbury established himself, with the main body of his army, on the south bank of the river as being the most vulnerable point, and also to cut off communications from the south. The rest of the army was encamped on the north of Orleans to keep guard on that side. Salisbury now directed all his efforts towards the taking of the bridge, and was successful in the storming of the Tourelles. This accomplished, however, disaster overtook him as he stood at a window in the tower looking down on the bridge.

The following account, although that of a rather late chronicler, has a circumstantial air which makes it worth quoting.

The defenders at the Orleans end of the bridge had trained a cannon against this window, and were only waiting for some one to appear at it. At the moment when Salisbury stood there, watch was being kept

by the son of the master gunner, "whiche was gone doune to dinner"; the boy, however, nothing daunted, "toke his match" and fired a shot with such effect that the iron frame of the window was shattered.[1] A flying fragment hit Salisbury on the side of the head and inflicted such a terrible wound that he died three days later, on 3 November. His death was much lamented by the English, for he was a man of "hawtines of courage and valiancie rather to be compared with the auncient Romanes than with men of that age."[2]

"So manly was his knightly diligence," says another chronicler, "He laboured ever in marciall excellence."[3] His estates devolved upon his only daughter Alice, the wife of Richard Neville the elder, the friend of York, who thus became Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife.

Salisbury was succeeded before Orleans by Suffolk, whose misfortunes seem to have begun from that day, and by the renowned warrior Talbot, whose fame was such that the women of France were accustomed to quiet their refractory children by crying, "The Talbot cometh! The Talbot cometh!"[4] Suffolk, however, was chief in command, and, despondent of taking so strong a town by assault, he determined to wait for famine to reduce it. This was likely to be a matter of time, for although he strengthened

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, 145.
[2] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), p. 4.
[3] Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 394.
[4] Hall's *Chronicle*, 230.

his lines on the north it was still quite possible to get in and out of the town. The siege dragged on all through the winter, the two armies exchanging pleasantries to pass the time. Dunois sent Suffolk a fur cloak in exchange for a plate of figs : encounters were arranged between the pages of each side, in which the English came off victorious.[1]

In February the English were a little enlivened by the news of a skirmish at Rouvray, not far to the north. A convoy of " Lenten stuff " for Suffolk's army, under the command of Sir John Fastolf, was attacked by the French and Scots. The English arranged their effects in a square and beat off the enemy, but shots had pierced the provision casks and herrings poured forth upon the plain.[2] From this circumstance the affair was known as the " Day of Herrings," since from the appearance of the field the casualties seemed to have been chiefly among the fish.

The defenders of Orleans were now becoming seriously discouraged, for the French seemed incapable of making any effectual effort to relieve them. As a last hope, they asked that the town might be surrendered to the Duke of Burgundy as neutral territory. The English, however, being " in great prosperity, never considered that the wheel of fortune might turn against them "[3] and refused the proposal, not seeing why Burgundy should reap the fruit of their toil. Bur-

[1] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vi. 165–6.
[2] *Ibid.*, 167.
[3] *Chron. of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., iv. 319.

gundy was much annoyed by Bedford's refusal, and withdrew his men from before Orleans.

The French were ready to despair, when Orleans was saved by the most extraordinary event of the war. "At this time," says an English chronicler, willing to dismiss as shortly as possible an episode so discreditable to his country, "the adversaries of the English raised up a girl whom they said was destined to be victorious, but," he adds with indifference, "they were deceived, for shortly after she was taken and destroyed with torture as a sorceress." [1] To the English army in France, however, the appearance of Jeanne d'Arc was an event not so easily passed over.

For Jeanne's early life and character it is best to refer direct to the evidence taken in 1455,[2] at which time an examination was held at Domremy, Jeanne's home, and many of the villagers questioned, including her godfather, the friends of her childhood, the priest and the neighbours, any one in fact who had had anything to do with her.

Jeanne's parents were labourers of good and honest life and far from rich. Jeanne—all agreed—was a good girl; so good, said one, that all the village loved her, while her next-door neighbour Mengette admitted that she went so far in her youth as to tell Jeanne that

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), iv. 11.

[2] Similar evidence was taken in 1430, but was suppressed by the Bishop of Beauvais because favourable to Jeanne: *Jeanne d'Arc* set forth in the original documents (ed. by T. Douglas Murray). The following account is compiled almost entirely from the evidence given in this book.

she was too pious. For the rest, they said, she was gentle, simple and modest, well brought up and good-mannered. She was of a serious disposition and did not care much for playing, singing or dancing, a taste which brought upon her the grumbling of her companions, who sometimes laughed at her when she went away from them "to talk with God." She was very fond of going to the village church, and at times scolded the sexton, Perrin le Drapier, as he testified, for forgetting to ring the bell, promising to bring him wool from her flock if he would attend to his duties better. She was also fond of visiting the Hermitage of the Blessed Mary of Bermont. Her occupations were chiefly indoor duties about the house, spinning and sewing, at which she showed much industry. Sometimes, however, she followed the plough, or minded the cattle and sheep "when it was her father's turn," but she particularly stated in her own evidence at her trial that she did not habitually go into the fields with the flocks, but only helped with them when needed. She never swore, we are told, but contented herself with saying "without fail." She was fond of nursing the sick, which was attested by one whom she had nursed, and was so hospitable that she would sleep on the hearth in order to give the guest her bed.

Such was the evidence of the simple villagers who lived with her at Domremy until her departure for the war.[1] As to her two years with the army, rough

[1] *Jeanne d'Arc* (ed. T. Douglas Murray): depositions at Domremy, 213–31.

captains of war, such as the Bastard of Orleans, the Sieur de Gaucourt, and others all testify that no one could have been more sober and chaste in conduct. It appears that she took strong measures to eliminate camp-followers from the army, and also that she would not suffer blasphemous language in her presence.[1] In the latter respect she had particular trouble with La Hire, who was given to great freedom of expression, but seeing how hard he tried to break himself of the habit after her expostulation, she allowed him to use the one oath "Par mon martin"—"By my staff"—with which he contrived to be content.[2]

According to Jeanne's own testimony, she was thirteen when she first believed that she heard a voice speaking to her. This Divine voice, she declared, spoke by means of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, and sometimes St. Michael. At first, she said, they bade her be good and go often to church; afterwards they told her more and more often to go "into France,"[3] and lastly to raise the siege of Orleans and take the Dauphin to be crowned at Rheims.[4] In spite of the fact that she knew nothing of the art of war, Jeanne's ardent faith would not allow her to remain at home, and in the early spring of 1429, at the age of seventeen, she persuaded her uncle, Durand Laxart of Burey le

[1] *Jeanne d'Arc* (ed. T. Douglas Murray): depositions at Orleans, 232–51.

[2] *Ibid.*, 308.

[3] Domremy is on the borders of Lorraine.

[4] It was customary for all French Kings to be consecrated at Rheims, and not at Paris: *Jeanne d'Arc*, 10.

Petit, to take her to Vaucouleurs, the nearest fortified place, in order that she might get an escort to take her to Charles. Here the Captain, Robert de Baudricourt, repulsed her several times, telling her uncle to take her back to her father and have her ears boxed.[1] At length, however, he was won over, sent her to see Charles of Lorraine, and provided her with all she needed. Jean de Metz and Bertrand de Poulengey both advised her to assume a man's dress for greater safety in her long and perilous journey across France, and she accordingly exchanged her "red dress, poor and worn" [2] for a suit provided by de Metz, an action which does not seem at the time to have occasioned the least surprise. Before she set out, the inhabitants of Vaucouleurs had a man's dress and equipment specially made for her, and also presented her with a horse. Thus she journeyed to Chinon in Touraine, where the Dauphin was, accompanied by Jean de Metz or de Novelemport, Bertrand de Poulengey and four others. According to the evidence of Jean and Bertrand, she inspired them both with profound respect.[3] Eleven days were occupied by the journey, which was for greater safety made largely at night, and Chinon was reached on 6 March, 1429. After two days, the Dauphin was persuaded to grant her an audience. At this interview Jeanne declared with such simple conviction that she was sent from God to raise the siege of Orleans and to conduct the Dauphin

[1] *Jeanne d'Arc* (ed. T. Douglas Murray), 226.
[2] *Ibid.*, 223. [3] *Ibid.*, 223, 229.

to Rheims to be crowned that even the apathetic Charles was won over. In order to be quite sure of the approval of the Church, he sent her to Poitiers, where she was detained for three or four weeks, to be examined by a body of prelates and clergy. This company having decided that "there was nothing found in her which was not Catholic and reasonable"[1] Charles hesitated no longer, and Jeanne was sent to Blois, where an army had been assembled to conduct a convoy of supplies to Orleans. Leaving Blois on 28 April, they made their way up the river. Jeanne wished to approach by the north bank, reaching Orleans from the west, but as the English were strong on this side, her captains, without informing her, took her round by the south side to a point east of the city, opposite the outlying Bastille de St. Loup. Here they were met by the Bastard of Orleans and La Hire. But the course taken by the French Captains and approved by Orleans now involved the difficulty of crossing the Loire, which was then high, in the face of a contrary wind. It was therefore thought best that the army should return to Blois for the time, leaving the convoy to cross if it could. Jeanne pointed out to the Bastard that they would have done better to take her advice; however, at this point, the wind changed suddenly, and at nightfall the boats were able to get up the river to the city under cover of the darkness. Thus Jeanne entered Orleans on the evening of 29 April, 1429. She was received as an angel of

[1] *Jeanne d'Arc* (ed. T. Douglas Murray), 244.

God by the inhabitants, who escorted her with acclamation to the cathedral to return thanks.

While still at Poitiers, Jeanne had sent a letter to the English leaders bidding them leave France in peace, and she now sent another to Suffolk and Talbot to the same purpose. The English, not unnaturally, received this summons with rage and scorn, considering her to be a witch, and one of her heralds hardly escaped with his life. Bedford later described her without reserve of language as a "disciple and lyme of the Feende."[1] Nevertheless, they were quite unable to withstand the fire of enthusiasm with which Jeanne inspired all whom she led.

The army from Blois having returned to Orleans on 3 May, the attack on the English was begun on the 4th. The Bastille de St. Loup on the east and the Tower of St. Augustin quickly fell, and on 7 May the English were actually driven from the Tourelles and the Boulevart beyond. It seems that they were seized with panic at the sight of Jeanne and her white banner with the motto "OU NOM DÉ." Jeanne herself was wounded in the neck by an arrow, but did not retire to Orleans until the day was won, when she had her wound dressed and refreshed herself with her usual simple meal of four or five slices of bread dipped in wine.

Early next morning the English marched out of their camps. Jeanne armed herself and awaited events. Meanwhile, as it was Sunday, she had Mass celebrated in the presence of the army. At the end of Mass the

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, x. 408.

English were observed to be in full retreat towards Meung. Orleans was saved.

Jeanne's next task was to recover the neighbouring towns. Jargeau was taken, and Suffolk himself captured while carrying on a desperate resistance in the streets. Matthew Gough was expelled from Beaugency. The English army then retreated north, pursued by Jeanne, who came up with them at Patay. Their position was betrayed by a stag which, put up by the French, ran towards the English lines and caused them incautiously to raise a shout.[1] Talbot's army, demoralized by retreat, could not stand against the impetuous valour of Jeanne's soldiers, and they were put to flight, Talbot himself being made a prisoner.

The way now lay open for the accomplishment of Jeanne's purpose. Hastening into Touraine with Dunois, she visited the Dauphin at Tours and at Loches, and implored him to go quickly to Rheims to be crowned. In this she was wiser than Charles's captains, who wished to attack Normandy, for Charles's prestige could not but gain immensely by the performance of the time-honoured consecration at Rheims. The Dauphin at length yielded to her urgent representations, and the expedition set out. The important town of Troyes was subdued on the way, and Chalons and many other towns opened their gates.

On 17 July, 1429, Charles VII was crowned and anointed in the cathedral at Rheims, as his ancestors had been since the earliest times. Jeanne stood by

[1] *Chron. of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., iv. 328.

with her banner, and thus saw her declared mission accomplished.

Up to this time, as she declared before the King and his Court, her voices had urged her on, saying, "Fille de Dieu, va, va, va! Je serai à ton aide!" but after leaving Rheims, as she afterwards said, they were for a long time silent, and Jeanne for her part only wished to return home. "Would it might please God," she said to Dunois and the Archbishop of Rheims, "that I might retire now, abandon arms and return to serve my father and mother, and take care of their sheep with my sister and my brothers, who would be so happy to see me again." [1] But the army, and those lords who believed in her, would not suffer their leader in so many victories, whom they venerated as "La Pucelle de Dieu," to leave them, and she was obliged to remain.

Seeing that she must go on, she urged Charles to march at once on Paris and take it by a bold stroke, and the progress northwards was accordingly begun. Bedford meanwhile had withdrawn the shattered remnants of his army to the neighbourhood of the capital and had sent to England for reinforcements.

It happened that just at this time Cardinal Beaufort, with the assistance of a Papal Commission, was raising a force in England for service in the crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. Owing to the stress of circumstances in France, however, he was prevailed upon in July 1429 to lend this company to Bedford

[1] T. Douglas Murray, *op. cit.*, 240.

for six months' service in France; for which rather doubtful proceeding he received a reward of 2000 marks from the Council.[1] Paris was thus well defended.

Charles advanced to Soissons, but here his evil genius La Trémouille, the mortal enemy of Jeanne, persuaded him to halt. So much, however, was the confidence of the English shaken, that on 7 August Bedford actually addressed a letter to Charles, rather insolent in tone, expressing his willingness to make peace on reasonable terms.[2] Charles entered Compiègne, and in a half-hearted way began to negotiate a truce. But Jeanne, impatient at this foolish vacillation, and burning to advance, pushed on to St. Denis, and on 8 September, at the urgent advice of her captains, ordered an assault on Paris, although, as she afterwards said, she was not supernaturally directed to do so. The attack was unsuccessful, and Jeanne, while fighting in the trenches, received a wound. This reverse gave La Trémouille the opportunity of betraying the interests of his country. The French army was withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Paris on 10 September, and disbanded at Gien on the 21st, at a moment when a rapid and decisive advance into Picardy would have roused the country and cut off Paris. Already the English were driven from the Loire, from half Île-de-France and nearly all Champagne; a united effort on the part of the French might have saved twenty years of miserable warfare.

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, x. 427.

[2] *Chron. of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., iv. 341–4.

The whole winter was spent in controversy and inactivity on the part of Charles. Jeanne went to Bourges, took the Burgundian town of La Charité in November, and employed the rest of the winter in visiting the towns she had freed and confirming them in their loyalty. Meanwhile the English had time to recover from their panic. In October, Bedford, to make quite sure of Burgundy's loyalty, at the request of the Parisians made over to him the Regency of France, retaining to himself the Governorship of Normandy; after which they both left Paris.

Bedford meanwhile had sent to England to recommend that the coronation of Henry VI in France should now take place, as a last hope of counteracting the impression produced by the coronation at Rheims, and of awakening loyalty to the English. On 23 April, 1430, the young King was brought over to Calais by his tutor the Earl of Warwick, but there he was obliged to remain for the next three months, until the route to Paris was less unsafe.

In May the Burgundians renewed their activity in Île-de-France, and towards the end of the month concentrated their forces round Compiègne. Jeanne, weary of inactivity, gathered a band of reinforcements at Crespy and rode by night to the relief of Compiègne, entering the town about sunrise on 23 May. About nine in the morning she made a sally, and being drawn away from the town by a feigned retreat of the Burgundians, she was cut off by a party in ambush. Her men, seeing the danger, fought their way back almost

to the drawbridge, but some of the English and Burgundians reached it first, and the governor of the town, either through treachery or fear, raised the bridge, leaving Jeanne hemmed in on all sides. After a struggle she was taken captive by the men of Jean de Luxembourg, who was in the service of Burgundy. Having kept her three or four days, he sent her to the castle of Beaulieu, where she was imprisoned about four months while Luxembourg, Burgundy and Bedford haggled over her price. Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, on the part of the University and Inquisition of Paris, claimed her as a heretic against the Church, and on the part of Bedford offered 10,000 livres tournois (about £16,000 present value) for her person—the usual ransom of a king.[1] In August, Jeanne was removed to Beaurevoir, where she was kindly treated by the Countess de Ligny, wife of Luxembourg, but about November she was finally sold to the English, in spite of the entreaties of the Countess, for 10,000 francs. She was then taken to Arras and thence to Crotoy, where she was handed over to the English. Finally, in December, she was removed to Rouen for her trial, and confined to the castle.

In July King Henry had left Calais with Warwick, and on the 29th had entered Rouen in state. He was living in the castle when Jeanne arrived, and remained there throughout her trial. Warwick, his tutor, was governor of the castle, and consequently the jailer of Jeanne, in which capacity he gained an unenviable

[1] T. Douglas Murray, *op. cit.*, 387.

reputation. It is sad that the young Henry should have been present to lend his countenance to the shameful events that followed, but as he was only nine years old we can but hope that his alleged sentiments on the subject were dictated to him by Warwick and Bedford, on whose shoulders a great part of the blame for Jeanne's death must rest.

It must be admitted that the English found themselves in an awkward position. Such seemed the supernatural character of Jeanne's success that the mediæval mind was obliged to attribute it to the agency either of God or the Devil. Being possessed, as French writers do not fail to point out, of "the pride of Lucifer,"[1] they could not bring themselves to own that they were in the wrong and had been defeated by Divine agency, therefore it was necessary for them to prove for their own satisfaction that Jeanne was a "disciple and limb of the Fiend." For the same reasons of outraged pride mingled with orthodox zeal they had conceived such a violent hatred for the poor girl that they would not for the world have her die a natural death. Warwick even went so far as to attribute this infamous sentiment to Henry. The orthodox House of Lancaster ever delighted in hounding a heretic, but it is difficult to believe that the gentle Henry can ever have been so fierce, even in the cause of his beloved Church.

It must be remembered, however, that in those days the authority of the Church was paramount, and bold indeed was the man who dared to defy it. Hence when

[1] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vi. 284–5.

Jeanne declared that, for her, the authority of her voices must be above even that of the Church men felt, no doubt, that she must be abandoned to her fate. Again, as they knew, it was laid down in the Canon Law that for a woman to assume the dress of a man was a thing abominable to the Lord (although why this point had escaped the Prelates of Poitiers is not clear). Worst of all, they asked themselves, without sorcery—a connection with the Evil One fervently believed in and abhorred by every God-fearing man—how could Jeanne have been so extraordinarily successful against the English arms? Jeanne, then, was regarded by them as both a heretic and a witch, both of which crimes they were accustomed to see expiated by a fiery death.[1] It was therefore perhaps as much a spirit of righteous indignation as of vengeful fury which brought the unfortunate Pucelle to her untimely end, —at least on the part of the best of the English; it is to be feared that the soldiery were actuated chiefly by the latter feeling.

Jeanne was confined at Rouen during the time of her examination, from December 1430 to May 1431, in a room on the second floor of the castle that contained the bed on which she slept and a great block of wood to which she was chained. Five English soldiers kept guard over her night and day, two outside and three inside the room. She was charged

[1] Throughout the reign of Henry VI heretics were burnt from time to time at Smithfield, and the accomplices of Eleanor Cobham, convicted of witchcraft, perished in the same manner.

with heresy by the Church, yet she was kept in a lay prison and cut off from clerical guidance. The doctors of Poitiers had declared her orthodox, but, ignoring this, the carefully chosen court of Rouen, under the instigation of the infamous Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, prepared a maze of subtle questions to entangle her into erroneous statements. No charge was presented to her, and she was allowed no counsel for her defence. More than that, Cauchon suppressed the too-favourable evidence of the villagers of Domremy, and servile clerks were provided who took down her answers with omissions. Fortunately there were also honest recorders who refused to be tampered with, and so her marvellous defence has come down to us intact.

Jeanne's examination began on 21 February, 1431, but after six public examinations they were continued in private, and lasted until the end of March. The assessors got little satisfaction from their questioning; nothing could move Jeanne from her serene simplicity. Her answers, which create an impression of entire honesty and sincerity of purpose, together with remarkable clearness of mind, were the admiration of lawyers of later years, and even her accusers marvelled at them. "Do you know if you are in the grace of God?" they asked her on one occasion; "If I am not," answered Jeanne, "may God place me there; if I am, may God so keep me. I should be the saddest in all the world if I knew that I were not in the grace of God. But if I were in a state of sin do you think the voice would

come to me? I would that every one could hear the voice as I hear it." [1] Questioned about the voice she replied: "As firmly as I believe in the Christian Faith, and that God hath redeemed us from the pains of Hell, that voice hath come to me from God and by His Command." [2]

On 27 March, the "Trial in Ordinary" began. On 18 April, worn out by the strain, Jeanne fell ill; Bishop Cauchon visited her in her prison and delivered a "charitable exhortation." A doctor was also summoned by Warwick because, he said, revealing his motive with entire frankness, "the King . . . had bought her dear, and he did not wish her to die except by justice and the fire." [3] Jeanne, unfortunately for herself, recovered.

In order to entrap her into heresy, the assessors required her to declare that she would abide by the decision of the Church militant with regard to her voices and visions. But Jeanne, being absolutely convinced that her voices were divine, could only reply that though she believed herself to be subject to the Church, God must be served first. To this she adhered, although threatened with torture and the most dire penalties. "If I were condemned," she said, "if I saw the fire lighted, the faggots prepared and the executioner ready to kindle the fire, and if I myself were in the fire, I would not say otherwise and would maintain to the death all I have said." [4]

[1] T. Douglas Murray, *op. cit.*, 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, 17.
[3] *Ibid.*, 107, footnote.
[4] *Ibid.*, 126.

On Thursday, 24 May, formal sentence of condemnation was therefore pronounced, Jeanne being placed on a platform opposite the Judges. Then at last the poor girl, "fearing the fire" and seeing the executioner waiting with his cart, for a short time broke down. She was only nineteen. She was induced to put her mark to a written abjuration denying her visions and acknowledging the wickedness of wearing male attire. This done, her sentence was altered to one of perpetual imprisonment—to the great anger of the English rabble, who were wishing for the spectacle of her death—and she was taken back to the castle and provided with a woman's dress.

But in a few days Jeanne's courage returned. On 28 May, the Judges, hearing that she had resumed her male dress, went to the prison to question her. She had, indeed, felt herself obliged to resort to it as a protection, the English soldiers not having been removed from her cell. According to the evidence of Pierre Massieu, she told him that the soldiers had taken away her woman's dress while she slept and had thus forced her to assume the male attire they gave her. But besides this she reaffirmed her faith in her voices: "If I said that God had not sent me," she said, "I should damn myself, for it is true that God has sent me; my voices have said to me since Thursday, 'Thou hast done a great evil in declaring that what thou hast done was wrong.' All I said and revoked I said for fear of the fire." [1] Her fate was sealed. Frankly, Cauchon

[1] T. Douglas Murray, *op. cit.*, 137.

and the English were delighted. On 30 May, Jeanne was declared relapsed, excommunicate and heretic, and sentenced to death. Immediately afterwards she was burnt in the market-place of Rouen. Her ashes were cast into the Seine.

In England her death does not seem at the time to have aroused much comment; it is not until considerably later that a chronicler is found to state that her sentence was "the hardest that ever had been remembered" [1]; it seems to have been the English in Rouen, *i. e.* chiefly the soldiers, who showed such a merciless hatred of Jeanne. It was they who thrust from the castle any whom they suspected of favouring her, and who hurried away the priest who was consoling her last moments. The point of view of their leaders is shown in the letter sent, nominally from Henry, to Burgundy, about a week after Jeanne's death.

"Most dear and well-beloved uncle," it begins, "the fervent love and great affection which you like a very Catholic prince bear to our Mother Holy Church and to the advancement of our faith, doth both reasonably admonish and friendly exhort us to signify and write unto you such things which to the honour of our Holy Mother Church, strengthening of our faith, and plucking by the roots of most pestilent errors, have been solemnly done in the city of Rouen."

The letter goes on to relate how Jeanne had been "clothed in man's apparel, a thing in the sight of God abominable," and how "presumptuously making

[1] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 38.

her vaunt that she had communication personally and visibly with St. Michael and a great multitude of angels and saints of Heaven, as St. Catherine and St. Margaret . . . she came into the field . . . to exercise unnatural cruelties in shedding of Christian blood"; "but," it continues, "Divine Power having compassion on His true people, and willing no longer to leave them in peril, nor suffer them to abide readily still in ways dangerous and new cruelties, hath lightly permitted of His great mercy and clemency the said Pucelle to be taken in your host and siege which you kept for us before Compiègne; and by your good mean delivered into our obedience and dominion." It relates that she was dealt with by the body of ecclesiastics, "but all this notwithstanding the perilous and inflamed spirit of pride and of outrageous presumption, the which continually enforceth himself to break and dissolve the unity of Christian obedience, so clasped in his claws the heart of this woman Joan, that she neither by any ghostly exhortation, holy admonition, or any other wholesome doctrine which might to her be showed, would mollify her hard heart or bring herself to humility. But she advanced and avowed that all the things by her done were well done; yea, and done by the commandment of God and the Saints, before rehearsed, plainly to her appearing; referring the judgment of her cause only to God, and to no judge or Council of the Church militant." [1]

One cannot but wonder if Henry and Jeanne, lodged

[1] Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England*, 108 *et seq.*

so close to one another in the castle of Rouen, ever saw each other; probably the strict surveillance of Warwick prevented it.

Jeanne had perished, but her work was done. Even Bedford admitted later that his non-success dated from her appearance. The deliverance of Orleans had caused a burst of joy all over France, and as Jeanne pressed on and triumphantly brought Charles their rightful king to be anointed at Rheims as his ancestors had been for numberless generations, the sleeping spirit of nationality began to awake all over the country. The army had tasted success and was inspired with new courage; towns were no longer content to submit themselves tamely to the English rule, but had to be kept by an English garrison, and this in itself was a serious strain on the resources of the English. The tide of public opinion had turned against the invader, and the apathy resulting from many years of misery was being thrown off. A sign of the times was the fact that the men of material interests now began to drift over to the side of Charles, and it was not long before Burgundy himself began to waver.

The route to Paris now being open, Bedford having recovered the revolted towns between Rouen and the capital, Henry was taken to Paris by Bedford and Warwick early in December 1431 to be crowned. The ceremony took place at Notre Dame on 16 December, Henry being the only English King who was ever crowned there. Paris in the heart of winter, depopulated, wretched and starving, can hardly have been a cheerful

spectacle, but the officials did their best to cloak it by providing numerous splendid pageants in the streets. The funds necessary for the coronation had, as usual, to be advanced by Cardinal Beaufort. The function, which was meant to create an impression and revive the loyalty of the French, signally failed in its object, although Henry was considered to be "an impe of most excellent towardness and disposition."[1] He was then aged just ten. No French Princes were present; even the King's French grandmother, though in Paris at the time, was absent; Mass was sung and the actual ceremony of coronation performed by Cardinal Beaufort, to the great offence of the Bishop of Paris, whose cathedral it was. The whole was conducted according to English rites, which gave needless offence to the French clergy. A banquet followed the coronation, and the King was entertained during the courses by tableaux, and probably enjoyed himself, but the affair was grossly mismanaged. The members of the French Parliament, Doctors of the University, and magistrates, who arrived in state, found no places provided for them and had to scramble for seats with the mob. Even the crowd was discontented, for no one troubled to scatter alms; they complained that they would have done better at the wedding of a goldsmith. No prisoners were liberated and no taxes remitted: the Parisians were deeply disappointed. Next day a tourney was held, but on 27 December, Bedford, who was not easy as to the King's safety,

[1] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 39.

hurried him away from Paris and sent him back to England.[1] Thus ended Henry's only excursion abroad.

During December 1431 Burgundy concluded a six years' truce with Charles; but these truces made little difference to the progress of the war, for the Burgundians, in order to strike a blow against the French, would pretend to be English, while the French, when they felt a desire for a brush with the Burgundians, would pretend to mistake them for English, so that fighting continued nevertheless.

Little was done in 1432. An attempt by the French to take the city of Rouen failed, but the English lost ground in Maine, and the important town of Chartres was taken from them by an ingenious stratagem. A large part of the population of Chartres, including many of its defenders, was attracted to one end of the town by the preaching of a Jacobin friar who had an understanding with the French. Meanwhile several fish and wine carts drove up to a gate at the opposite side of the town and effected an entrance. No sooner were they inside than the drivers threw off their disguise, their comrades hidden in the carts leapt from their concealment, and the gatekeepers were overpowered. Thus the way was opened for the French army, which lost no time in entering the town.[2]

A still more serious occurrence for the English during this year was the death of Bedford's wife, Anne of

[1] For an account of the whole function, see *Chron. of E. de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., v. 2–6.

[2] *Ibid.*, v. 22–3.

Burgundy, for thus the strongest link between Burgundy and England was severed. In the following year Bedford, with strange impolicy, acting under the influence of the Bishop of Thérouanne, married Jacquette of Luxemburg,[1] an action which, occurring so soon after the death of Anne, gave rise to a slight coolness with Burgundy.

Bedford went home for a while in July 1433, while Burgundy, annoyed at a French incursion into his domains, and repenting of his truce, conducted a brilliant campaign in the north-east and succeeded in temporarily recovering for his ally the districts east of the Seine and Yonne.

In England, Bedford found a strong party in favour of peace. Parliament actually presented a petition that Bedford should abandon the war and remain in England to devote his energies to the good of that country. This would indeed have been a wise action, but Gloucester, touched in his short-sighted national pride, raised a furious opposition to the proposal, and by a great misfortune persuaded his countrymen that it would be a weak and unworthy course to make peace at this juncture. Bedford therefore returned to his hopeless task—and he must have known that it was hopeless—in July 1434, after a year's absence. Such was the deplenished state of the Treasury that he was obliged to come to its assistance himself, and generously

[1] This lady afterwards married Sir Richard Woodville, who was created Lord Rivers. Their daughter Elizabeth became the Queen of Edward IV.

offered to devote his Norman revenues to the conduct of the war for the next two years.[1]

In France, a new and sinister symptom had already developed. The peasants of Normandy, the most English and loyal province of the North, began to rise against the English and throw off their dependence, and, conducting a little warfare on their own account, obstinately refused to be suppressed. Thus the English, in the province upon which they placed most reliance, were exposed to the great disadvantage of having the country-people against them. Disaffection even appeared among the garrison of Calais, but there it was effectually stamped out, four soldiers being executed.

An event had taken place at the Court of Charles in 1433 which was destined in a few years' time to produce great results. This was the murder of La Trémouille, Jeanne's enemy and Charles's worst friend. It remained to be seen what efforts Charles was capable of when freed from the deadening influence which so encouraged his inactivity.

Most serious of all, Burgundy, although ostensibly conducting campaigns against the French, was privately considering the advisability of deserting the English. His domains of Burgundy and Flanders were in a miserable condition, and the peace-loving burghers and merchants of the latter were urgent in impressing upon him their desire that he should give up the war.

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, iv. Chron. Index, xxviii.

Moreover, his neighbour on the eastern side, the Emperor Sigismund, had lately concluded a peace with Charles, so that Burgundy, thus placed between two fires, began to feel it a necessity to make peace with France and agree to overlook the murder of his father.

Accordingly, in the spring of 1435, Burgundy invited all the Powers to a Conference at Arras for the purpose of negotiating a general peace. In July the delegates arrived. England was represented by the Archbishop of York, William Lyndwood and Sir John Radcliff; France by the Duke of Bourbon, the Constable de Richemont, and the Archbishop of Rheims. Delegates were also sent from Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Denmark, Poland and Italy.

France began by suggesting that England should keep Gascony and Guienne, with a few additions in the neighbourhood, and that she should also be paid 600,000 crowns, in return for which Henry should renounce the title and arms of the King of France. The English on their side were willing to yield to France all districts south of the Loire except Gascony and Guienne (thus undoing all Jeanne d'Arc's conquests in the North), and offered to pay 120,000 saluts yearly for the royal style and arms of France. The French were willing to meet them to the extent of giving up practically all Normandy, but further than that they would not go. Negotiations continued until the end of August, when both sides presented an ultimatum. England demanded the *status quo* with a slight rectification of frontiers, *i. e.* Normandy with a large part

of Île-de-France and Maine, besides portions of Guienne and Gascony. France offered the whole of Normandy in return for the renunciation of the royal style and arms; the English were to liberate the Duke of Orleans (who had been a prisoner in England since Agincourt), and Henry was to receive in marriage a French Princess without dowry. The English, however, who were not very sincere in their desire for peace, refused to give up the royal style as typifying their claim to France, and on 6 September withdrew from the Congress. The French made a last effort, and offered to postpone the question of the renunciation of the royal style until Henry should be of age if England would evacuate the territory not ceded to them; but the English hardened their hearts and refused the offer with contempt.

The Congress however, although it failed in its chief object, had one very important result: Burgundy and France came to an understanding. Charles agreed to apologize for the murder of Philip's father, Jean sans Peur, and to give up the guilty ones. Philip was also to receive five counties and various other concessions, and was relieved from performing personal homage to Charles. These very favourable terms show that Charles was fully aware of the value of the Burgundian alliance. Peace was concluded between them on 21 September, and Burgundy received absolution from the Cardinals present from his oath of allegiance to the English. His defection aroused a storm of indignation in England and gave fresh impetus to the warlike

opinions of Gloucester and his militant party; in October, Parliament gave its sanction to the continuance of the war against France and Burgundy. Henry was so much hurt by the letter from Burgundy announcing his change of side and omitting the style of King of France that tears ran down his cheeks.[1] The Londoners gave vent to their fury by plundering the houses of the Flemish merchants in the city.

A few days before the conclusion of the treaty between Charles and Burgundy Bedford died at Rouen, on 15 September, 1435. He had lived to see his work undone and the position of England in France more unstable than when his charge had been committed to him. But for this he was not to blame. He had done his best to advance his nephew's claim, but his task was impossible, and with him perished the last hope of success. There was no one to carry on his wise and capable rule in France, and no firm and experienced hand to direct the movements of the troops. England could ill spare this just and prudent statesman, the only blot upon whose career was his treatment of Jeanne d'Arc. He had been made a Canon of the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Rouen in 1420, and was buried in that church, under the shrine of St. Sénier, on the last day of September 1435. His epitaph was inscribed on a tablet of copper, which was attached to a pillar on the left side of the High Altar.[2]

[1] *Chron. of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., v. 192.

[2] *Histoire de l'Église cathédrale de Rouen*, Rouen 1686, pp. 65, 204.

JOHN OF LANCASTER, DUKE OF BEDFORD
Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 18850 f. 256b.

CHAPTER IV

1437–1450: CHARACTER OF HENRY VI

It is now time to examine the character of the King called upon to rule over the troubled realm of England. In order better to understand subsequent events it will be well to consider his character now as it appeared when fully developed, although we shall presently take up the history of his career in his sixteenth year.

It is a strange thing that in such an age, when all the forces of lawlessness and disintegration were at their height—with such an ancestry, his father a great warrior whose aim was the conquest of a neighbouring realm, his grandfather a man whose ambition led him to wrest the crown from his own cousin—and with such an upbringing as the stern Warwick is likely to have given him, there should have been placed upon the throne of England at this time a man wholly devoid of self-seeking ambition, without a trace of that bold and warlike spirit so much admired by his age, whose sole aim seems to have been the practice of those virtues usually known as the "fruits of the spirit"—charity, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance. It was as though he were sent that the sins of his house and his country might be expiated upon his innocent head.

His unostentatious virtues did not commend themselves to his generation: they would have none of them. His fate was the more pathetic in that had he possessed greater strength of character, wider powers of intellect, a gift for administration, he might have gone down to posterity as the St. Louis of England. But Henry was without these qualities, and that at a time when they were most needed if he was to maintain his worldly position, for he had inherited the mental weakness of his maternal grandfather, Charles VI of France. Consequently his end was one of ignominy and contempt. But had Henry not suffered for the sins of his dynasty at a time when England was at the lowest ebb in her history, his people would never have known the strong, regenerating rule of the Tudors. His ruin was necessary for the good of his country, but the poor King can hardly have had the consolation of being aware of it; truly he might have said bitterly with Hildebrand: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity and therefore I die in exile," although Henry's exile was to culminate in a still harder fate. Most of Henry's biographers, being monks, are extremely eulogistic, but even allowing for their bias the general idea of his character given by them seems in accordance with history.

Henry's essential characteristic was his entire unworldliness. He "took all human chances, miseries and afflictions of this life in so good part as though he had justly by some offence deserved the same." He "ruled his own affections, gaped not after riches, and

was careful only of his soul's health." [1] Indeed, his worldly estate never seems to have appeared of much importance to him. During the civil war which devastated his kingdom, he allowed himself without protest to be taken about from place to place by whichever side happened to be in the ascendancy, and it is never recorded that he bemoaned his lot. Two or three times he was roused to indignant activity by the conduct of the Yorkists, but for the most part he remained quite calm. Not that he was a coward; if fate placed him on a battle-field he remained there, even though wounded and in great danger, when the lords who were supporting him at the moment fled for their lives. He was "never in anye greate feare whatsoever chaunced," says the continuator of Hardyng's narrative.[2] Neither could he have been a moral coward, for although he several times buckled on his armour during the civil war, upon joining battle he steadfastly refused to use his weapons against Christian men: a noble principle which must have been considered most extraordinary in those turbulent days, and one to which it required some courage to adhere. It is to be hoped that his spirit of calmness and resignation made his long imprisonment under Edward IV less irksome than it would have been to most men.

He was quite indifferent to wealth and luxury: a habit of mind which not infrequently embarrassed

[1] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 70–1.
[2] Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 437.

those who had to do with him. Once, we are told, a certain "great lord" brought him a rich coverlet for his couch, wrought with gold and much ornament, but Henry, "most eagerly desiring things celestial and spiritual and despising in comparison things earthly," could hardly be persuaded to look at it.[1] The said lord might perhaps have been excused for thinking him somewhat ungrateful. On another occasion he rejected a legacy on the ground that he had received sufficient kindness from the donor while he was alive.

Henry's generosity was also a source of difficulty, for his gifts, like those of Alexander the Great, were regulated by the principle of what it was fitting for a king to give, without consideration of what he could afford or of how much the recipient was worthy.[2] He gave away the Crown lands so recklessly to almost any one who entreated his favour that his revenues became seriously diminished, and he had not sufficient income left to meet the expenses of his household. Nevertheless, having a mind above accounts, he continued to give away anything that occurred to him, even his state robes. One can well imagine that the officers of his household found their good master at times a little trying. If he heard that one of his chaplains was obliged to mend his vestments he would cause him to be given enough material for ten new ones,[3] and, needless to say, he was assiduous in giving

[1] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 294.
[2] Riley, *Registrum Abbatiæ, J. Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), 248–9.
[3] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 294–5.

alms to the poor. This ill-regulated generosity, and his obliviousness to the fact that he was running into debt, indeed amounted to a grave defect.

Henry was a simple and upright man, without guile or malice; he "coveted no revenge for injuries, but gave God most humble thanks for the same." His charity and humanity were indeed remarkable, and in that ferocious age were probably considered a rather contemptible weakness. On one occasion it is related that "hearing that one of his servants had been deprived by theft of a great part of his goods, the said King sent him twenty nobles as compensation for his loss, at the same time advising him that he should now be more careful in the custody of his property, and that he should not go to law for this cause." [1]

His humanity did not become blunted by the horrors of the civil war, for when entering Cripplegate after the battle of St. Albans he observed a portion of a human frame over the portal, and upon being told that it had belonged to a traitor, "false to the King's majesty," he bade them have it taken down at once. "For," he said, "I am not willing that any Christian should be treated so cruelly on my account." [2] His personal misfortunes seem to have fostered in him a sort of pious resignation, for later in life even personal assault did not stir him to wrath. When two men set upon him and one inflicted a deep

[1] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 295.
[2] *Ibid.*, 301.

wound in his neck, he "patiently bore" it, merely rebuking them with the words: "Forsothe and forsothe, ye do fouly to smyte a Kynge enoynted so."[1] During his imprisonment in the Tower under Edward IV, a man attacked him and wounded him in the side with a poniard, but when Henry regained his liberty the man was pardoned.[2]

It must not be supposed, however, that Henry was incapable of strong affection, for he was sincerely devoted to his wife Margaret and their son. He was remarkable also for his faithfulness to his friends; had he been willing to give up Suffolk and Somerset at the crucial moment he might have saved his throne, yet he refused to condemn Suffolk to death and clung to Somerset although his championship dragged him into the jaws of civil war, and brought upon him the defeat at St. Albans.

Henry was imbued with the strict orthodoxy upon which the House of Lancaster prided itself. He was devoted to the Church, and regarded Lollards and other heretics with pious horror. We never read that he intervened to mitigate the fate of the Lollards, who, from time to time during his reign, were condemned to the stake. This seems an unamiable trait in an otherwise gentle character, but in the fifteenth century, when religious toleration had not yet dawned upon Europe, when heresy was regarded as a poisoned limb which must be cut off and cast away for the preserva-

[1] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 301.
[2] *Ibid.*, 302.

tion of the whole, it could not have been otherwise. A king brought up in an atmosphere of unquestioning orthodoxy, without any great intellectual power of his own, domineered over by Cardinal Beaufort, could hardly have been expected to attain to a breadth of view entirely alien to his times.

His behaviour in church was held up as a model by his chroniclers, for he bared his head and knelt devoutly, following the service with great attention. Neither would he allow his retinue to draw their weapons then nor bring their hawks into church, nor carry on discussions there, which seems to have been the usual mode of behaviour.[1] He was also particular about the recital of grace before meals.

His tastes were serious and studious, and he "had good learning in great reverence,"[2] as is amply testified by his two great educational foundations, Eton, and King's College, Cambridge. Neither did he care for any sort of frivolity: "So they worry me," he complained, "that scarcely am I able even hastily by day or night without disturbance to snatch refreshment by the reading of some sacred doctrines."[3] He was fond of music, and took care to provide both his new colleges with choristers to sing the sacred offices, yet he said: "We would rather that they should grow less in musical accomplishments than in knowledge of the Scriptures."[4] He is known to have

[1] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 290.
[2] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 157.
[3] Blakman, *op. cit.*, 299. [4] *Ibid.*, 296.

composed a Sanctus, which is still preserved at his Cambridge College. Except on Sundays and holy days, he spent his time chiefly in business, study and prayers; it appears, however, that he was occasionally known to hunt.[1] His taste in dress was of the simplest, in which respect, as well as in his aversion to going to law, he resembled the Quakers, for he preferred clothes of a plain cut in dark and quiet colours.[2]

His modesty was such that his chronicler was moved to quote instances more diverting than he intended. On the occasion of a Christmas ball at Bath, Henry, he affirms, was so much shocked by the inadequate dresses of some of the ladies whom they would have presented to him that he turned his back and left the room, exclaiming, "Fy, fy, for shame! forsothe ye be to blame!" while the scantiness or absence of the bathing costumes used at the famous baths disturbed him so much that he quitted the town in haste.[3]

Like Jeanne d'Arc, he would not permit swearing in his presence, but severely rebuked any one who thus forgot himself, pointing out that he was setting a bad example to his family and servants. The most violent expression Henry himself is ever recorded to have used was, "Forsooth and forsooth!"[4] or "St. John!" which cannot be said to err on the side of

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 357, 525.
[2] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 298.
[3] *Ibid.*, 292.
[4] *Ibid.*, 300.

over-expressiveness. He is also extolled by Blakman for his truthfulness.[1]

But with all these virtues poor Henry was not possessed of the qualities necessary to the making of a successful king. With his inherent weakness of character, he was influenced in turn by whichever of his lords had succeeded in insinuating himself into the royal favour. His chroniclers, realizing the beauty of his character, rightly lay the chief blame for his unwise political actions on the "false lords" who misled him, and not on himself. He had no power of self-assertion to check the turbulence of his subjects, for his mild and gentle personality made little impression on the average, somewhat stern, mediæval character. Neither did he in the least understand the spirit of his own age, for he dwelt for the most part in a dreamy realm of his own, into which he only allowed the clamour of the outside world to penetrate at necessary intervals. He showed no power either of discerning the character of those about him, or of interpreting the signs of the times.

The nation's ideal of a king was a distinguished and warlike monarch such as Henry's illustrious father. The people began by loving Henry VI for his goodness, but, chiefly owing to his lack of popular qualities, they ended by treating him with absolute indifference, and his enemies declared that he had not "heart or manliness" to be a king.[2]

[1] Blakman, *op. cit.*, 288.
[2] Continuator of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 448.

Such was Henry VI of unhappy memory: a man who in private life would have been conspicuous for his virtues and who would have been happy in a cloister. It was hard that he should have had to occupy a mediæval throne, for he was too Christian for his position and for his times.

His virtues did not pass wholly unrecognized by his contemporaries, for in 1446 Pope Eugenius IV sent him the Golden Rose, a distinction conferred by the Papacy upon sons of the Church who were deemed specially deserving of recognition.

The next monarch of Henry's name, his avenger Henry VII, began to take measures for obtaining the canonization of Henry VI, but this pious tribute to his memory was cut short by the Tudor monarch's death.

In person, Henry is said to have been tall of stature, slender and well-proportioned in frame, and "of comely visage . . . wherein did glisten continually that bountifulness of disposition wherewith he was abundantly endowed." [1] His portraits show a somewhat thin and pointed face, with dark eyes and a long and slightly aquiline nose. The mouth is small and well-formed, the underlip rather thicker than the upper. The jaw is rather sloping, the chin inclined to be long, and not prominent. The expression is one of slight nervousness or timidity. Three contemporary portraits of Henry VI are preserved to us, showing him at different periods of his life. The first, at

[1] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 156.

JOHN TALBOT PRESENTING A BOOK TO MARGARET OF ANJOU
Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 15 E. VI, f. 2b.

King's College, Cambridge, represents him as a young man. That in the National Portrait Gallery shows him in middle life. Finally, in the royal collection at Windsor there is his portrait as a comparatively old man. He cannot have been really old, since he ended his troubled life at the age of fifty, but the face is much aged and lined compared with that of the London portrait. All three pictures represent him in what was presumably his usual dress : a dark tunic with bands of ermine over the shoulders and round the neck, dark red sleeves and a gold collar, and the insignia of some order with a jewelled cross. The close dark cap comes down over the ears in all three portraits. Among the King's manuscripts in the British Museum there is a folio presented by Talbot to Queen Margaret, on the title page of which are represented Henry and his wife. The King and Queen also appear in the tapestry in St. Mary's Hall at Coventry, but as portraits these are probably of little value.

The young Henry, aged barely sixteen, now found the responsibilities of government over-early thrust upon him. The youthful King was nothing if not good-natured, and instead of in any way asserting his own will he set before himself the amiable but impossible task of pleasing all parties. His kindly weakness in consequence played havoc in the affairs of the Council.

The King's uncle Gloucester was at this time in a fairly strong position, and he had the support of York and Salisbury, while his lifelong enemy, Cardina

Beaufort, was growing old, and, besides, spent much of his time abroad. The Cardinal, however, had two nephews, John, Earl of Somerset, and Edmund, Earl of Dorset, sons of the old Earl of Somerset who died in 1410, who were destined some years later to succeed to their uncle's influential position with the help of the Earl of Suffolk, and Kemp, Archbishop of York. Henry, however, at no time showed much affection for Gloucester. Probably the looseness of the Duke's private life repelled the young King, and with his religious leanings towards peace he would also be distressed by Gloucester's determined advocacy of the war.

The Privy Council soon became embarrassed by Henry's kindliness of heart, which apparently led him to be over-merciful. Early in 1438 the following memorandum occurs in their minutes—

"Remember to speke unto the King to be warr how that he graunteth pardons, or elles how that he doeth [causeth] them to be amended, for he doeth to him self therinne greet disavaille, and now late in a pardon that he graunted unto a customer the which disavailled the King, 2000 marcs." [1]

His rash generosity also worried them—

"Remember to speke unto the King what losse he hath had by the graunte that he maad to Inglefeld of the constableship and stewardship of the castel and lordship of Chirk, to the losse of 1000 marcs." [2]

To add to Henry's difficulties, as the chroniclers

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, v. 88.
[2] *Ibid.*, 89.

relate, "the land was at that tyme full of treson after the death of the Duke of Bedford." [1] A feud was being carried on between the two branches of the Neville family in the North, for old Ralph Neville of Westmoreland had married twice and had had large families by both wives, and now that he was dead the two families were quarrelling over his lands. The young Earl of Westmoreland and his two brothers on the one side took arms against the Dowager Countess of Westmoreland, Ralph's second wife, and her two sons the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Latimer on the other, and they had actually come to blows, with "great routes and companies upon the field, and done furthermore other greet and horrible offences, as well in slaughter and destruction of our people as otherwise." [2] The leaders of both sides were cited to appear before the Council, and apparently some sort of an understanding was arrived at.

Henry was also lacking in means. He seems, unfortunately, to have been brought up in an extravagant mode of living, for his private expenditure was twice the amount customarily laid out by his grandfather, and in 1439 there was great murmuring because of the non-payment of the expenses of his household. Henry was, indeed, continually in debt in this respect throughout his reign not because his personal tastes were extravagant, for they were simple almost to austerity, but owing to his deplorable habit of making

[1] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 141.
[2] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, v. 90, n,

recklessly generous gifts of money or land to any who petitioned him. In this way many of the Crown lands, from which a great part of his revenue was derived, were alienated—a grievance which will be heard of later. At the time of the "complaints" mentioned, the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall were assigned to the purpose of paying the King's debts.

Also there had been a great decrease since the reign of Henry V in the amount of revenue derived from taxation. This was partly due to the reductions made in the assessment for subsidies to relieve the impoverished condition of many of the towns, and also to the large amounts which the dishonest collectors of the revenue appropriated for themselves. But the chief cause of the decrease was the great fall in the customs on the export of wool, owing to the fact that more and more wool was being used in the country itself as the cloth industry increased in prosperity, and much less was consequently exported.

The country, moreover, was in a distressed condition, for the three years from 1437 to 1440 were years of great dearth owing to the unusual wetness of the weather;[1] in 1439 the famine was the worst that had been known since 1315–16, and the poor were reduced to eating bread made of beans, pease and vetches. In 1439 also the pestilence was so bad that it gave rise to the somewhat quaint enactment that any one

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), iv. 18; *Chron. Mon. St. Albani* (J. Amundesham; Rolls Ser.), 157.

having occasion to do homage should be excused from kissing the King.[1]

This year proposals for peace were considered, but the Cardinal being occupied in France as the chief English envoy, Gloucester had the ear of the King and was able to persuade him to reject the terms. This, however, was almost the last occasion on which his influence triumphed before it began to wane.

In 1440 Archbishop Kemp was made a cardinal, and Gloucester, hoping that the people would be suspicious of undue papal influence in the country, took this opportunity to attack both Kemp and Cardinal Beaufort, bringing against them wild charges of malversation and treachery which could not possibly be substantiated, and which did the accused no harm. He also protested against the release of the Duke of Orleans, which was decided upon in 1440 and carried through in spite of his objections. Orleans took an oath on the sacrament not to bear arms against England, but "my seyde Lord of Gloucester agreyd never to hys delyveraunce; qwan the masse began he toke his barge."[2] Clearly his influence was no longer supreme.

The chief blow to his position, however, was brought about by the ambitious schemes of his wife, Eleanor Cobham. This woman, who had been Jacqueline of Hainault's chief waiting-woman, and whom Gloucester had raised to the position of his duchess,

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 31.
[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 40; l. 27.

could not forget that her husband, in the absence of direct heirs to the King, stood nearest to the throne. The ambitious Eleanor allowed this idea to gain possession of her mind, and she even resorted to astrology and superstitious practices, with the consequence that in 1441 she was charged with using magical arts against the King's life, the attack being skilfully engineered by the Beauforts. The Duchess fled into sanctuary at Westminster, but this expedient was unavailing against such a crime as witchcraft, and she was brought forth to be tried. She and her accomplices, Roger Bolingbroke and Margery Jourdain, an accredited witch, were solemnly accused of making a wax image of the King and melting it over a slow fire with the intent to bring about a similar wasting in his person, and other such matters. The unfortunate Roger and Margery suffered extreme penalties, the former being hanged, drawn and quartered, and the latter burned. Eleanor, whose life was spared by Henry's mercy, was condemned to a fantastic penance. For three consecutive days she was compelled to walk through the streets of London, barefooted, "with a meke and demure countenaunce," [1] carrying a taper weighing one pound, accompanied by the Mayor, Sheriffs and "crafts" of London. The first day her allotted pilgrimage was from Temple Bar to St. Paul's, the second day from the Swan pier to Christ Church, Aldgate, and the third from Queenhithe to St. Michael's, Cornhill. After doing this public penance she was

[1] *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 59.

condemned to lifelong imprisonment; she died in 1454 at Peel Castle in the Isle of Man. Gloucester remained passive, not daring to raise a finger in her defence for fear that suspicion of complicity should fall upon him. None the less his wife's doings were a fatal blow to his influence, and his power was at an end. Seeing this, says Hardyng—

> "He waxed then straunge eche day unto ye King,
> . . . . . .
> And into Wales he went of frowardness,
> And to the King had grete hevynesse";

and the Beauforts reigned supreme over the young Henry.

One other result sprang from the trial of the Duchess of Gloucester: in the following year Parliament enacted that in the eyes of the Law peeresses were to take rank with their husbands, and were therefore to be entitled to trial by their peers for the same offences that their husbands could claim such trial.

Henry himself was chiefly preoccupied during these years with the educational schemes in which he was so deeply interested. For his first project he selected a spot near his own castle of Windsor that he might watch the growth of the infant institution with a solicitous eye, and there in 1440 he founded the "King's College of our Lady of Eton beside Windsor," the charter being dated 11 October, 1440.[1] As originally

[1] *Corresp. of Will. Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 279, 280; see also Heywood and Wright's *Statutes of Eton College*.

constituted this establishment was a very different one from that of the present day. The college was to consist of a provost, an "informer in grammar," or schoolmaster, ten fellows (priests), four clerks, six choristers, twenty-five poor and indigent scholars, and twenty-five poor and feeble old men, "to pray for the king's health during life and, when he left the light of earth, for his soul, and the souls of the illustrious prince Henry his father . . . of the lady Katharine his consort . . of all his ancestors and of all the faithful departed." [1] The master in grammar was to teach the scholars "freely, without exaction of money or anything else." In 1443 the numbers were altered to seventy poor scholars, ten fellows, ten chaplains, ten clerks, sixteen choristers, only thirteen poor and infirm men, and a master and usher besides the provost.[2] The parish church of Eton was attached to the college, and improvements carried out in the interior. The foundation stone of a new church was laid by the king before Passion Sunday, 1441.[3] Henry endowed his foundation principally from the English lands of the alien priories which had been confiscated by Henry V. These lands were scattered all over the country, and included the Leper Hospital of St. James at Westminster. The college was also granted two annual fairs, to be held on the six working days following the Feast of the Assumption (August 15), and for three days after Ash Wednesday. Further, the Pope granted plenary

[1] *Corresp. of Will Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 281.
[2] Sir H. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 577. [3] *Ibid.*, 12.

indulgence to all pilgrims visiting Eton at the Feast of the Assumption,[1] which besides increasing the company at the August fair brought the college many offerings.

William Waynflete, the Head Master of Winchester,[2] presided over the organization of the new college. Henry Sever was the first provost, but resigned that post in 1442, and was succeeded by Waynflete.[3]

In 1448 Henry assigned to Eton its armorial bearings: "On a field sable three lily-flowers argent, intending that our newly founded college, lasting for ages to come, whose perpetuity we wish to be signified by the stability of the sable colour, shall bring forth the brightest flowers redolent of every kind of knowledge. . . . To which also, that we may impart something of royal nobility, which may declare the work truly royal and illustrious, we have resolved that that portion of the arms which by royal right belong to us in the kingdoms of France and England be placed on the chief of the shield, per pale azure with a flower of the French, and gules with a leopard passant or." [4]

Henry was much attached to his school at Eton. In after years he would tip the Eton scholars if he met them in the precincts of Windsor, telling them to be good boys; but if he found any of them in the neighbourhood of the Court he would send them away reproved, saying that it was not a suitable place for the young.[5]

[1] Sir H. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 9, 23, 26.
[2] He afterwards became Bishop of Winchester and was the founder of Magdalen College, Oxford.
[3] Sir H. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 14, 18.
[4] *Ibid.*, 54. [5] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 296.

The other great foundation England owes to Henry VI is King's College, Cambridge. The intention of founding this college was formed by Henry in 1440, but the charter was not granted until February 1441. This institution, at first named the college of St. Nicholas—Henry's birthday being on the feast of that saint—was modestly established in the first instance for twelve scholars and a rector, and Henry himself laid the first stone of the gatehouse on Passion Sunday, 1441.[1] In 1443, however, by fresh statutes the college was much enlarged. Under the new regulations provision was made for a provost, seventy fellows or scholars, ten secular chaplains, six clerks, and sixteen choristers [2]—the nucleus of the choir now so famous for the perfection of its singing. The name was also changed to "The College Royal of our Lady and St. Nicholas." On St. James's Day, 25 July, 1446, Henry laid the foundation-stone of the new chapel,[3] which was destined to grow into such a marvel of beauty under his successors. Henry VI did not live to see it completed, but the great design was his, together with that of other buildings for the college never carried out, and he endowed it with funds and granted it two quarries of Yorkshire limestone to provide the building material. The civil war, however, stopped for a time the progress of the chapel, and nothing was done under Edward IV, who took no interest in his rival's foundations. Henry VII granted

[1] A. Austen Leigh, *King's College*, 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, 5. [3] *Ibid.*, 19.

some funds for its continuance, and it was completed during the early years of the reign of Henry VIII.

Henry VI endowed the college with manors all over the country, and for the early buildings granted leave for the materials of the old castle at Cambridge to be used. He desired the foundation to be connected with Eton, whose scholars were to be passed on to Cambridge when sufficiently advanced. The first provost of the college was William Millington.

But Henry's efforts in the cause of education did not end with these two achievements. Finding in 1438 that the universities of both Oxford and Cambridge, which he referred to as " the two luminaries from which the chief part of the fame and glory of his Crown and Kingdom was derived," [1] were decayed and scarce in students, he intimated to the Convocation of Canterbury that he wished them assisted from the revenues of the Church.

Many grammar schools were founded in different parts of the country during his reign, including St. Anthony's School, London, in 1441. Colleges were founded at Newport, Salop, in 1442, and at Towcester in 1449; [2] Cardinal Kemp founded Wye College in 1447, and Archbishop Chicheley All Souls' College, Oxford in 1437. Magdalen College was founded by William Waynflete in 1456, and Lincoln College by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1427, both at Oxford.[3]

[1] *Corresp. of William Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), I. cxxxviii. 55.
[2] See A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 323–4.
[3] For Queen Margaret's Foundation, see below, p. 148.

In France also Henry's reign was beneficial to educational institutions. Although he can hardly have taken much personal interest in the beginning of the university of Caen, since he was only ten at the time of its foundation, yet it was founded by Bedford in the King's name in January 1432, just at the conclusion of his visit to France. The foundation was confirmed by a papal bull in 1437, but the university was not formally installed until 1439.[1] The reason for its creation was that there was no university existing in all the dominions possessed by the English at that time in France, except that of Paris, which was notoriously French in feeling and was even given to conspiring against the English party. It was therefore thought desirable to provide a university where the youths of Northern France might be brought up under the eye of England as it were; consequently great pains were taken to keep the institution loyally English in spirit. In 1442 it was reported, to Henry's satisfaction, that Caen University was attracting an "incredible influx of students in all branches of science."[2]

At Bordeaux, too, Henry gave his sanction to the foundation of a university in 1441; but the chief credit for this achievement seems to have been due to Pey Berland, then Archbishop of Bordeaux.

At home, while Henry was thus happily engaged with schemes after his own heart, the country was

[1] A. de Bourmont, *La Fondation de l'université de Caen*, 29, 40, 43.
[2] *Corresp. of Will. Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), I. clix. 123.

becoming more and more disturbed owing to the lack of a strong and decided government. In the West, the Earl of Devon and Sir William Bonville openly took up arms to decide which was the rightful claimant of the stewardship of the Duchy of Cornwall. Both produced a royal patent, so that it is possible that Henry, whose memory was deplorable, had, in a moment of aberration, granted the stewardship twice over, and thus unwittingly caused great trouble. In 1441 the Council attempted to deal with these "grete riotes, disorders, dissencions and debates the which now late have growen and been betwix the said Erle of Devon and his servants and frends, and Sir William Bonevile knyght and his servants and frends, the which hath caused manslaughter and the Kings pees gretly troubled and broken, to the greet inquietnesse of his shires of Cornewaill and of Devon and also of other places, to the uneaise not oonly of theim and theirs but also of his subjitz dwellyng therinne." [1] The two claimants were charged to bring their patents for examination, and meanwhile to allow "an indifferent man" to occupy the office. Little good, however, seems to have been done, for in 1451 the feud broke out again, and continued to burst forth at intervals whenever occasion offered.

In 1442 and 1443 riots occurred in Wales, and the Council ordered "that for as moche as that a monk in Wales, that is other wyle in North Wales and other wyle in South Wales, and telleth cronicles at Commor-

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, v. 173.

thees and other gaderings, to the mocion of the people, that it be aspied prively wher that he is and that he be taken." [1]

At York also in 1443 there were dissensions between the Mayor and Sheriffs and the Abbot of St. Mary's. Besides this the men of Yorkshire refused to pay their dues to Archbishop Kemp, and in 1443 riots were actually stirred up against the Archbishop by the Earl of Northumberland. Kemp complained that "diverses and many persones in grete multitude and in rioteuse wyse have comen to certain of his places and have throwen downe som of his houses, and have broken downe by grete spaces the pales of divers of his parkes, and have broken downe divers water and wynd melles, and have hurted and fered divers of his servantz, and continuyng in their said riot and evel wille, as he sayth that he is enfourmed, thei dispose them to come to his manoir of Southewel and hurte it. And therfor he besecheth the Kyng that it wol lyke his hieghnesse to ordain remedie." [2] The Earl of Northumberland was commanded by the Council to make reparation.

The town of Norwich had been for some time in a disturbed condition. The franchise of the town had been suspended and the Mayor removed from office in 1437, and in 1442 it was again thought necessary to deprive the town of its liberties.

All over the country there were small disturbances,

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, v. 233.
[2] *Ibid.*, 268–9.

and even in London the "getters of the Inns of Court" and the citizens had a "great debate by night time" [1] in Fleet Street, an occurrence which does not seem to have been uncommon.

The majority of these disturbances, as has been seen, were headed by some person of importance, and it was probably because of this that so little was done efficiently to check them, for it must be remembered that Parliament in the fifteenth century almost exclusively represented the landed interest. The members of the House of Commons were the "knights of the shires" and members for boroughs, often themselves lords of manors or wealthy merchants, and elected by men of substance; so that it could hardly be expected that they would wish to make themselves unpleasant to the nobility, in many cases their overlords, by putting too strict a check upon their doings.

The King at this time was, as usual, in pecuniary difficulties, and in 1442 the Commons again besought that the revenues of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall should be used to satisfy the King's creditors, "in eschuyng of thair grete murmour, clamour and continuell importable chargez," [2] and also begged that in future ready money should be paid for the expenses of the household.

This same Parliament took measures towards the strengthening of the navy, which was then small and

[1] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 154.
[2] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 62.

neglected. In 1423 "certain great ships" had actually been put up for sale at Southampton; but as it was specially ordered that the Mayors of London, Bristol, Hull, Lynn, Yarmouth and Plymouth should be notified, it was evidently hoped that these ports would purchase them for the public service. No one was allowed to buy them who was not at least the subject of an ally of England. The Parliament of 1442 enacted that there should be prepared for service in 1442 and 1443 eight "great ships," viz. the *Grâce Dieu*, *George*, *Trinity*, *Thomas*, *Nicholas of the Tower*, *Katherine of Burtons*, "the Spanish ship of Lord Poins" and a ship belonging to Sir Philip Courtenay. There were also to be eight barges, the *Mangeleke*, *Marie*, *Trinity*, *Valentine*, and *Slugge*, a sixth at Falmouth, and two belonging to Harry Russell and Sir Philip Courtenay. These were to be attendant on the "great ships," and were each to be accompanied by a balinger.[1] There were also to be four "spynes."[2]

The *Grâce Dieu* was an unlucky ship, for shortly before this she had been damaged by fire, and later, in 1459, when she would have been carried off to Calais, she was found to be "broke in the bottom."

This list, however, does not represent the entire number of ships available at the time, for the exchequer accounts of the same year give the names of ten

[1] A balinger was a small sailing vessel, but usually larger than a "barge."

[2] Pinnaces.

"great ships," four mentioned in the parliamentary list, and in addition the *Holy Ghost*, *Little Trinity*,[1] *Rodecogge*, *Philip*, *John* and *Galley*. Six carracks[2] are also mentioned: *Marie of Hampton*, *Marie of Sandwich*, *Marie of Hull*, *Peter*, *Paul* and *Andrew*, the last of which was, however, "submersed in the sea." The two balingers mentioned, the *Rose* and the *Gabriel of Harfleur*, were both reported to be sunk. At an earlier date in the reign there are mentioned, besides the *Edward of Fowey*, the *Fowler* and the barge *Little John*.[3]

This little navy, however, does not seem to have effected much towards the safeguarding of the sea until the command was taken over by the Earl of Warwick in 1458.

Another important question which came to the fore during these years was the subject of the King's marriage. As early as 1438 it had been proposed that Henry should marry a daughter of the then newly elected Emperor Albert II. In 1438–9 there was some idea of his marrying a daughter of Charles of France,[4] but this came to nothing. Again in 1442 one of the daughters of the Count of Armagnac was proposed as a suitable bride.[5] Henry, who was really anxious to fulfil the wishes of his subjects and marry, in May 1442 commissioned Sir Robert Roos and

[1] This probably corresponded to the *Trinity* mentioned among the barges in the parliamentary list.

[2] A large ship originally of Genoese or Spanish type.

[3] Exch. Q. R. Accts., $\frac{5}{28}$, $\frac{5}{24}$, $\frac{5}{5}$, $\frac{5}{12}$, $\frac{5}{37}$.

[4] Rymer's *Fœdera*, x. 727.

[5] *Ibid.*, xi. 7.

Thomas Bekyngton to conduct negotiations and to instruct a painter named Hans to execute faithful portraits of the three ladies that the King might make his choice. The artist was to "portraie the iij doughters in their kerttelles simple, and their visages, lyk as ye see their stature and their beaulte and color of skynne and their countenaunces, with almaner of fetures; and that one be delivered in al haste with the said portratur to bringe it unto the Kinge, and he t'appointe and signe which hym lyketh." [1] But it so happened that the Count of Armagnac's decision on the subject was hampered by the fact that the army of Charles VII was hovering on his borders, and he therefore dared not at that moment pledge himself to an alliance with the King of England, lest the French army should be let loose upon him. The English Ambassadors, not understanding the awkwardness of his position, took offence at his evasions, and the project was dropped. This marriage was very much favoured by Gloucester, and was said to have been finally "disallowed and put by" through the influence of Suffolk, an incident which "kindled a new brand of burning envy" [2] between them.

Doubtless the House of York might have had less trouble in realizing their ambition had either of these marriages taken place.

Henry now became attracted by the fame of the young Margaret, daughter of René of Anjou, who,

[1] *Corresp. of Will. Bekynton* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 184.
[2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 616.

although aged only about fifteen was already renowned throughout France for her beauty and wit. Apparently the same method was employed as before, for Henry is said to have become deeply enamoured of her portrait. Certainly he displayed a sincere affection for her during the remainder of his life. The real instigator of the match was Cardinal Beaufort. This astute prelate, realizing Henry's weakness, saw that he needed a partner of some decision of character and intellect, but hoped at the same time that Margaret's youth and inexperience would bring her easily under his own influence, and thus make his ascendancy over the King doubly sure. At all events he did succeed in establishing a firm friendship between Margaret and the House of Beaufort. But besides this, both Henry and the Cardinal hoped that this marriage would conduce to peace, because Margaret was the niece of Charles of France, and with this view it is said to have been originally suggested by the Duke of Orleans. Gloucester and his party, of course, for all these reasons were much opposed to it, their hopes having been fixed on the Armagnac alliance.

The story of Suffolk's romantic attachment to the young Princess and his consequent determination to procure for her this exalted marriage seems improbable, considering that he was a comfortably married man of over fifty years of age at the time—an old man in those days—while Margaret was about fifteen.

The young and spirited Margaret of Anjou, who was born in 1429, was, through her mother Isabella of

Lorraine, a direct descendant of Charles the Great. Her father, René of Anjou, who was titular King of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, Count of Provence, and Duke of Bar and Lorraine, in spite of his numerous titles, in reality possessed very little territory: he kept his Court at Nancy in Lorraine. A true Provençal, poet, artist and musician, he was beloved by the people of his southern province, but rather despised by the rough and warlike nobles of his time, who considered his accomplishments effeminate and his indifference to his worldly fortune unworthy. This bride, therefore, although she might be highly gifted intellectually, was not likely to bring her husband a rich dowry.

In 1444 Suffolk was sent to Nancy to negotiate the marriage and at the same time to endeavour to obtain satisfactory terms of peace. René was willing enough that his daughter should marry Henry, but he considered it inconsistent with his honour to give her to the King of England while that monarch was in possession of Maine and Anjou, René's hereditary domains. He therefore at the last moment demanded their restoration to the French as a condition of the marriage, and was naturally supported in this by Charles. Suffolk had by this time so far committed his master to the marriage that it would have been difficult for him to repudiate it, and he therefore agreed to these remarkable terms, which were destined to hasten his own downfall, in spite of the fact that he was armed with an indemnity from Parliament for anything that might be involved in his mission. The

transaction, however, remained a secret between him and Henry for as long as possible. Thus Henry's ill-omened bride was bought with two provinces, and came to her husband without any dowry except her father's purely formal claims to Aragon, Majorca and Minorca.

In February 1445, a truce for two years having been concluded, Suffolk, as proxy for the King, was married to Margaret at Nancy with great festivities, after which the young Queen set out for England under the protection of Suffolk and his wife, parting with many tears from her family, by whom she was deeply beloved. At Poissy, on 18 March, occurred her first meeting with Richard of York,[1] who received her there on the English frontier, little foreseeing the very different circumstances under which they were destined to meet in after years. Between Mantes and Harfleur Margaret distributed fourteen pairs of shoes and other things to poor women,[2] but upon reaching Rouen she found herself so short of means that she was obliged to pledge certain vessels of " mock silver " to the Duchess of Somerset. Henry meanwhile, no better off, was harrying Parliament for a grant of funds to defray the expenses of his marriage, borrowing horses from the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, and pledging his jewels and plate to provide for his Queen's coronation. On 8 April, Margaret embarked at Harfleur in the

[1] Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VI* (Rolls Ser.), i. 448.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 449.

Cocke Johne of Cherbourg,[1] and landed next day at Porchester so much overcome by the passage that Suffolk was obliged to carry her ashore. She rested that night at a convent in Portsmouth,[2] and was conveyed next day by boat to Southampton, enlivened on the way by the performances of seven foreign trumpeters. Upon reaching the convent at Southampton, where she was to lodge,[3] she became ill. Henry waited anxiously at Southwick for her recovery. "Oure moost dere and best beloved wyf the Quene," he wrote from there to the Lord Chancellor on 16 April, "is yet seke of the labour and indisposicion of the sea, by occasion of which the pokkes been broken out upon hir, for which cause we may not in oure own personne holde the feste of Saint George at oure castel of Wyndesore."[4] It has been assumed from this letter that Margaret's malady was smallpox, but this is clearly impossible, seeing that barely a fortnight elapsed between her landing in England and her marriage to the King, which ceremony would not have been permitted to take place while there was fear of infection of any kind. Moreover, during this interval she was able to receive a "tyre-maker" to prepare

[1] Stevenson, *Letter and Papers of Reign of Henry VI* (Rolls Ser.), i. 451.

[2] The only recorded "convent" in Portsmouth is "God's House" for the relief of the poor, see *V.C.H.*, "Hants," ii. 206.

[3] This would probably be the Hospital of St. Julian, the most important religious house in Southampton, where Richard of Cambridge, father of the Duke of York, was buried. *V.C.H.*, "Hants," ii. 203.

[4] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, VI. xvi.

her wedding garments; neither can we suppose, judging by the enthusiastic reception accorded a little later to her beauty, that her complexion long suffered from the pockmarks. By 23 April she was able to travel to Titchfield Abbey, nine miles away, and was there quietly married to Henry, the ceremony being performed by Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury, Henry's confessor. Henry was then twenty-three, and his bride just sixteen. These nuptials, according to Capgrave, "everyone thought pleasing to God and the Kingdom because peace and abundant fruits came with them"—an excessively rose-coloured view of the situation which caused a later annotator of his chronicle to remark in the margin, with good reason, "Compilator adulavit."[1] On the occasion of her marriage at Titchfield Margaret received the somewhat novel wedding-present of a lion: an embarrassing gift which was deposited in the Tower.[2] About a month elapsed before Henry and Margaret appeared in London, the interval doubtless being spent in making each other's acquaintance. One would like to have known Margaret's impressions of her husband; apparently they were not unpleasing, for Henry must have been a lovable man, and she seems to have become genuinely attached to him, judging by the care with which she looked after him.

The King and Queen made their state entry into

[1] Capgrave, *Liber de illustribus Henricis* (Rolls Ser.), 156, n.

[2] Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VI* (Rolls Ser.), . 450.

London on 28 May, Margaret's beauty creating great enthusiasm among the Londoners, who wore daisies in their hats in her honour. As yet the terms of the marriage settlement had not leaked out, and the people were ready enough to welcome her, although Parliament was sullen and suspicious. On 30 May the new Queen was crowned with great splendour at Westminster Abbey.

Margaret, although only sixteen, quickly made her influence felt in English politics. Her energetic and ambitious nature soon gained ascendancy over the docile Henry, whom her charms had captivated from the first. She had not the wisdom to avoid committing herself to party rivalry, and her influence was naturally exerted on the side of the Beauforts, for the old Cardinal had promoted her marriage and was her sincere friend. As appears from his will, Margaret must have visited him at his manor of Waltham, for he bequeathed to her the "crimson bed, with the cloth of gold of Damascus, which hung in her chamber in my mansion of Waltham, in which my said lady lay when she was at the said manor." [1] Suffolk also was her benefactor and firm friend, whereas Gloucester had strenuously opposed her marriage, which piqued her extremely, and for which she never forgave him. She saw early that the King appeared to do nothing of his own initiative, but was ruled by the advice of those about him, and hence she quickly fell into the habit of meddling with the governance of the kingdom.

[1] A bed with rich hangings was a very usual bequest in those days.

Gloucester's downfall was not long in coming. The King, doubtless under Margaret's influence, "began to give heavy and unpleasant occasions and quarrels against his uncle Gloucester," whom he had never loved overmuch, and to shun his presence, "furnishing himself with many armed men, as if he were a mortal enemy." [1] Probably also the three concerned, Henry, Margaret and Suffolk, felt apprehensive as to what course Gloucester would take when he learnt of the surrender of Maine, which could not be kept secret much longer.

The crisis came in 1447. In February of that year Parliament was summoned at Bury St. Edmunds. A few days after the opening of the session Gloucester arrived, "as an innocent lamb," but with too large a retinue to be wise. It was rumoured that he came to beg for an amelioration of his wife's sentence, but evidently his enemies had laid their plans beforehand. Reaching Bury St. Edmunds about eleven in the morning of 18 February, in "a fervent coolde weder and a bytynge," he was met on the outskirts of the town by the King's messengers, who informed him that he need not present himself to the King, but might go to his own lodgings and dine. This strange announcement, little short of an insult, would be enough to fill Gloucester with foreboding of disaster. He rode on through "Dede lane"—a circumstance afterwards remembered as of ill omen—and lodged at

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 33.

St. Salvator's without the north gate.[1] Hardly had he finished dining when Buckingham, Dorset, Salisbury and others entered and placed him under arrest, apparently upon a charge of treason, and his servants were removed. Gloucester remained at his lodging under guard, but the shock and humiliation were too much for him. When he found that Suffolk and Lord Say had so excited the King against him that he was not for the present to be allowed to answer the charges made against him, he "was in so great anguish of grief that the strength of all his members and of his inner spirit suddenly vanished," and "for three days there was in him neither sense nor motion." [2] On 23 February it was announced that he had died of a paralytic stroke, which under the circumstances is quite likely to have been true. One chronicler circumstantially gives the hour of his death as "sone appon iij on the belle at aftrenone." [3] His death, however, caused a tremendous sensation, and all sorts of rumours of foul play were spread abroad. Some affirmed that he was "stranguled" [4]; "some said he was murdered bitwene two ffedirbeddes, and some said he was throst into the bowell with an hote brennyng spitte." [5] It may be worth noticing that his predecessor, the Duke of Gloucester, actually was smothered between feather-

[1] *English Chronicle, Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 116–17.

[2] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 33–4.

[3] *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 117.

[4] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 73.

[5] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 157.

beds, and the last horrible fate was that attributed by legend (happily without good foundation) to Edward II, so that both these conjectures seem like mere suggestions of memory. Moreover, no wound was found upon Gloucester's body.[1] On the whole it seems most probable that the more trustworthy chroniclers [2] who stated that he "died for sorrow" were right; to a man of such proud and choleric temper as he had habitually shown himself such treatment might well be enough to bring on a stroke of some sort. Gloucester was not a young man, and by the evidence of his own physician he had been in bad health for some years before his death.[3] Hardyng also affirms that—

> "Ofte afore he was in that sykenesse—
> In poynt of death and stode in sore distresse."[2a]

It is certain that the Beaufort party were determined on Gloucester's downfall, but they would probably have contented themselves with imprisonment or exile. If he was assassinated the blame must rest on Suffolk, for certainly Henry would never have consented to it, and it is to be hoped that Margaret at the age of eighteen was not so bloodthirsty. As a matter of fact his death put his enemies in a bad case, for by his removal the Duke of York was left

[1] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 157.

[2] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), iv. 34; *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 63; Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 179.

[3] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vii. 56.

nearest heir to the throne: a most inconvenient and dangerous situation, destined to have fatal consequences. Evidently becoming aware of this danger, they lost no time in getting rid of York by appointing him in July 1447 to the Lieutenancy of Ireland for ten years. Nor did Gloucester's death make Suffolk's party more secure in popularity, for the Duke had been popular with the people in spite of his ill-judged policy and other faults, and they called him the "good Duke Humphrey," probably because of his affability, his handsome presence and his patronage of art and literature. He was the founder of the first public library at Oxford, now the Bodleian, and it is probable that his influence fostered in Henry VI that taste for education for which he was so conspicuous. Gloucester was buried on the south side of the Saints' Chapel in St. Albans Abbey, of which he was a benefactor. Five of his followers were "hanged and lette downe quicke" [1] as a warning, and then pardoned. His estates were given to Margaret. The people, convinced that he met his death by foul play, murmured against Suffolk, the Bishop of Salisbury and Lord Say, who were known to be high in favour with the King.[2] A later chronicler even went so far as to say that after Gloucester's "shameful slaughter, good men forsook the Court." [3]

Less than two months later, on 11 April, Gloucester

[1] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* (ed. Gairdner), 65.

[2] It is remarkable that these three men all met their death at the hands of the people, on different occasions, three years later.

[3] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 73.

was followed to the grave by his old enemy Cardinal Beaufort, who for forty-eight years had been a pillar of the House of Lancaster. This capable and ambitious prelate had since 1443 taken little public part in politics, but his influence had remained, and now the last check to the rash policy of Margaret and Suffolk was removed. He was possessed of enormous wealth, and had many times extricated Henry from his difficulties. Blakman relates that he left Henry £2000 in gold for his personal use, quite a large sum in those days, but the unworldly King, forgetful of his many debts, rejected the money, saying that he had received sufficient kindness from his great-uncle during his lifetime. The astonished executors then suggested that Henry should give it to his two foundations, Eton and King's College, which he accordingly did, for the good of the Cardinal's soul.[1]

Meanwhile England had learnt the news of the surrender of Maine, and the discontent was becoming dangerous. Suffolk, complaining of the accusations commonly circulated against him, demanded that he should be allowed to justify himself before the Council. His defence was accordingly heard by them on 25 May, 1447, and his integrity declared vindicated, but his position was not in reality much bettered. It was unfortunate that the government should have been so much in his hands, for all the national grievances were laid up against him in the minds of the people, and it followed that, when the grudge grew too heavy,

[1] Blakman's *Life of Henry VI* (ed. Thos. Hearne), 294.

the destruction of the hated minister meant a serious shock to the whole government of the country, and even brought discredit on the ruling dynasty itself.

To add to their misdemeanours, Margaret and Suffolk had managed to obtain special privileges for the export of wool, a piece of flagrant self-interest which naturally alienated the merchants. In 1448 Suffolk received a further mark of favour in being made a duke.

The young Queen Margaret, at the age of eighteen, was now left virtually at the head of affairs, for her husband was, as usual, absorbed in his studies and devotions. She cannot have been without sympathy for Henry's studious tastes, for she emulated him in 1448 by founding the college of St. Margaret and St. Bernard at Cambridge, now known as Queens' College.

The difficulties of England were increased in that year by the outbreak of border warfare between the Douglases and the Percys. The English had crossed the border and burnt Dunbar and Dumfries, while the Scots under Douglas fired Alnwick and Warkworth. Accordingly in September 1448 Henry set out on a royal progress to the North. He visited Stamford, Southwell, Beverley and Durham, returning to York in the middle of October. Skirmishes on the border continued, however, until Percy was severely defeated by the Douglases at the battle of the Sark in October 1449.

The year 1449 opened inauspiciously. The King's debts were such that the sergeant gentlemen and

yeomen of his household, and even the priests and clerks of his chapel, were driven to petition Parliament for their arrears of pay. The army was in the same state, which was running a foolish risk. In addition to this the war broke out again in France, and disaster after disaster befell the English arms in Normandy, for Suffolk had made no preparations whatever during the years of truce. Tardy reinforcements were raised and sent to the coast, but there they were kept waiting while funds were collected. At the beginning of January 1450, when Normandy was already almost lost, Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, at last came down to Portsmouth with the soldiers' pay; but they were in such an inflamed state of mind that "so it happid that with boistez langage and also for abrigging of their wagez he fil in variaunce with thaym, and thay fil on him and cruelli there kilde him." [1] This bishop had accompanied Suffolk on his embassy to Nancy, and had also been sent to France in 1448 to negotiate the final surrender of Lemans.

An interesting ballad of this time bewails the state of England and the loss of her capable leaders, all the personages being referred to by their badges—

"The Rote [2] is ded, the Swanne [3] is goone,
The firy Cressett [4] hath lost his lyght,
Therfore Inglond may make gret mone
Were not the helpe of Godde almygt'.

[1] *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 64.

[2] The tree root or woodstock, borne by the Duke of Bedford.

[3] Gloucester.

[4] Exeter, who died in 1447. His mother was sister of Henry IV.

The castelle [1] is woune where care begowne [began],
The Portecolys [2] is leyde adowne,
I-closid we have our welevette hatte.[3]
That keveryd us from mony stormys browne [brewen].
The White Lioun [4] is leyde to slepe
Thorough the envy of the Ape [5] clogge;
And he is bounden that oure dore shuld kepe,
That is Talbott oure goode dogge.[6]
The Fisshere [7] hathe lost his hangulhooke,
Gete theym agayne when it wolle be.
Oure Mylle-saylle [8] wille not abowt,
Hit hath so longe goone emptye.
The Bere is bound that was so wild,
Ffor he hath lost his ragged staffe.[9]
The Carte nathe [10] is spokeles,
For the counseille that he gaffe.
The Lily [11] is both faire and grene
The Coundite [12] rennyth not, as I wene,

---

[1] Rouen, lost in October 1449.

[2] Somerset, who capitulated at Rouen. [3] Cardinal Beaufort.

[4] Norfolk, who had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1447.

[5] Suffolk. So in another ballad, "Jack Napys with his clogge Hath tiede Talbot oure gentille dogge."

[6] The badge of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was a sort of hunting dog, between a hound and a beagle, later known as a "talbot." Talbot remained as a hostage after the fall of Rouen.

[7] Lord Fauconberg, brother of Salisbury, taken prisoner by the French at Pont de l'Arche.

[8] Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who surrendered at Paris in 1436.

[9] The bear and ragged staff, the celebrated badge of Warwick. The old Earl died in 1439.

[10] Nathe = the hub of a wheel. The Duke of Buckingham, a nephew of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. He was Ambassador to France in 1446.

[11] Thomas Daniel, a courtier, later made steward of the Duchy of Lancaster.

[12] The conduit represents John Norris, another courtier. The removal of Norris, Daniel and Trevilian (the Cornish chough) was petitioned for during Cade's Rebellion.

The Cornysshe Chowgh offt with his trayne
Hath made oure Egulle [1] blynde.
The White Harde [2] is put out of mynde,
Because he wolle not to hem consent;
Therfore the Commyns saith is both trew and kynde
Bothe in Southesex and in Kent.
The Water-Bowge [3] and the Wyne-Botelle [4]
With the Vetturlockes [5] cheyne bene fast.
The Whete-yere [6] wolle theym susteyne
As longe as he may endure and last.
The Boore [7] is gane into the west,
That shold us helpe with shilde and spere;
The Fawkoun,[8] fleyth and hath no rest
Tille he witte where to bigge [build] his nest." [9]

Suffolk could no longer avert the storm. On 26 January, 1450, a fortnight after the murder of Bishop Moleyns, Parliament petitioned for the Duke's impeachment and he was committed to the Tower. The only important charge that could be brought against

[1] The King.

[2] Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, later a Yorkist, and married to Warwick's sister. (Arundel Castle is in Sussex.)

[3] The "water-budget" was two leathern buckets on a pole—arms of Lord Bourchier, husband of York's sister, afterwards Earl of Essex.

[4] No name given.

[5] Prior of St. John's, Clerkenwell; Master of the Hospitallers in England, and ranked as first Baron of the Kingdom—Robert Botyll.

[6] Henry Holand, Duke of Exeter, a Lancastrian in spite of his marriage with York's daughter.

[7] The boar, the Earl of Devon, Thomas Courtenay.

[8] The falcon, the Duke of York, absent in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant.

[9] Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 221.

him was his unauthorized promise of the evacuation of Maine. For the rest he was accused of purposing to invade England and place his son John on the throne, of holding treasonable relations with the Duke of Orleans—whose keeper he had been at one time—of revealing state secrets to the French, and such charges. The King, hoping to protect his minister, ordered the case to be "respited," but Parliament, nothing daunted, brought in a Bill of Attainder on 9 March. This contained fresh charges, accusing the Duke of encouraging the King to make prodigal grants, of weakening the King's power in Guienne and alienating Armagnac, of giving away offices to his friends without leave of the Council, of appropriating and wasting the country's funds and those granted for the guardianship of the sea, and other offences. Suffolk threw himself upon the King's mercy, and Henry, ever faithful to his friends even when disastrous to himself, and probably in this case backed up by Margaret, in order to save Suffolk's life banished him for five years. He was discharged on 19 March, but in the end even the King could not save him. The populace of London, infuriated at the mildness of the sentence, surrounded his house at St. Giles, Holborn, to the number of 2000, and maltreated his horse and servants. Suffolk, however, succeeded in escaping by another way and fled into his own county. On 30 April he set sail from Ipswich to go to France, but off the coast of Kent he was intercepted by the ship *Nicholas of the Tower*—so little control had the Government even

over the navy—and being hailed on board as a traitor, was kept there until 2 May.

"Also he asked the name of the ship," wrote William Lorimer to John Paston three days later, "and when he knew it he remembered Stacy that said if he might escape the danger of the Tower he should be safe; and then his heart failed him, for he thought he was deceived, and in the sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship in to the boat . . . and one of the lewdest of the ship bade him lay down his head, and he should be fair fared with and die on a sword; and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half a dozen strokes, and took away his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his body on the sands of Dover." [1]

The country as a whole rejoiced at his death and did not hide their feelings. It was for Suffolk that the nickname of "Jackanapes" was first invented, and his death was commemorated in various ballads, one of which commenced—

"In the monethe of May, when gresse groweth grene
Flagrant [2] in her floures, with swete savour,
Jac Napes wolde on the see a maryner to ben,
With his cloge and his cheyn, to seke more tresour.
Suyche a payn prikkede hym he asked a confession:
Nicholas said, 'I am redi thi confessour to be';
He was so holden so that he ne passede that hour,
For Jac Napes soule *Placebo* and *Dirige*." [3]

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[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 125, let. 93.

[2] Fragrant (?)

[3] Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 232.

Parliament met at Westminster in April of that year, but such was the disturbed state of London that it was thought best to remove the session to Leicester. The country was on the verge of an outbreak, and it was not long delayed.

CHAPTER V

1435–1453 : THE LOSS OF FRANCE

CHARLES VII and the Duke of Burgundy, having sung a *Te Deum* together in the church of St. Vaast in Arras, and Charles, as a compliment to the Duke, having given the name of Philip to the son born to him at that time, preparations for united war against England were begun. The position of Charles was now most favourable. Burgundy, with all his domains scattered down the eastern borders of France, was on his side; the Duke of Brittany, though not an ally on whom much reliance could be placed, was likely to be kept loyal to France by his brother, the Constable de Richemont, while the people of Brittany were openly French in sympathy, and supplied Charles with bodies of men who did him great service. Moreover the people of Normandy, in spite of their strong English garrisons, were now with him in spirit, and large numbers of them fled over the border into Brittany that they might openly support his cause.

In England the Parliament summoned in the autumn of 1435, roused to a blind fury by the defection of Burgundy, voted large sums towards the continuance of the war, and in April 1436 the young Duke of York was appointed to the Lieutenancy of France in the

place of Bedford. He was only twenty-four at the time, and on account of his youth, says a chronicler, was not encouraged to fight,[1] but he nevertheless displayed considerable ability. He was accompanied to France by his brother-in-law and faithful friend the new Earl of Salisbury—that Richard Neville who had married the daughter and heiress of the Salisbury who was killed before Orleans. The veteran Talbot also remained in the field, together with such well-seasoned captains as Lord Hungerford, John Fastolf, Matthew Gough and Thomas Kyriel. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester was appointed Captain of Calais, a point now likely to be threatened by Burgundy, whose Flemish lands lay within a stone's throw of it.

During the winter the French had not been idle. A raid into Normandy found the English so unprepared that the invaders, aided by the peasantry, actually succeeded—though only temporarily—in capturing Dieppe, Fécamp and Harfleur. A number of towns in the neighbourhood of Paris also fell into their hands, but the overrash band which captured St. Denis was quickly expelled by the English.

Early in 1436 Charles began his advance in earnest, and the army, under the command of Richemont, marched on Paris. Already the city was almost cut off; Pontoise, Vincennes, Corbeil, St. Germain en Laye and other towns had fallen into the hands of the French, and the Parisians were approaching a condition of famine owing to the vicinity having been so

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 18.

long infested by the enemy. The Governor for the English was Louis de Luxembourg, who was loyal enough but very unpopular, as were also his assistants, the notorious Cauchon, now Bishop of Lisieux, and the Bishops of Paris and Meaux. He was also supported by Lord Willoughby and some English troops. Such, however, was the state of disaffection that he could hardly trust the inhabitants to assist in the defence. On 10 April Richemont took St. Denis, whereupon a mutiny broke out in Paris. On the 13th the Parisians rose under the leadership of one Lailler, Councillor of the Chamber of Accounts, barricaded the streets and poured missiles upon the English from the windows of the houses. Some of the latter made a stand in the Halles and others made for the Porte St. Denis, but finally those that were left were obliged to take refuge in the Bastille. Meanwhile Richemont entered the city without difficulty by the Porte St. Jacques, and was escorted to Notre Dame by a joyous crowd. After four days Willoughby and his troops in the Bastille were allowed to retire to Rouen, and they marched out amid the hoots of the Parisians. Thus was Paris finally lost to the English, after being in their possession for seventeen years.

In the summer of 1436 Burgundy, finding his Flemish provinces more ready than usual to give him help owing to their irritation at the English outrages against their merchants in London, led the troops thus provided against Calais, which was the nearest English stronghold of importance. Philip, however,

was not strong enough to reduce such a place, and the siege did not prosper. The fleet which was to co-operate with his army was delayed; when it at last arrived vessels were sunk in the mouth of the harbour, but were found to be in the wrong place and proved quite ineffectual for blockading the town. Finally, finding the coast dangerous, the ships sailed away altogether.[1] At that the Flemish troops, who had been tiresome all along, mutinied and announced their intention of going home, so that at the end of July Philip was obliged ignominiously to abandon the siege and retreat. By this time reinforcements had been raised in England, where there had been some alarm, but not enough to induce much haste. Gloucester, who does not seem to have allowed his duties as Captain of Calais to weigh very heavily upon him, landed in France with an army of 8000 men shortly after Philip had retired. Finding his enemy flown he advanced into West Flanders, burnt 'Poperinghe' and Bailleul, but "little did to counte a manly man,"[2] and soon returned to England. Charles, exhausted by the effort of taking Paris, made no move for the defence of his ally, while Burgundy "sore sycke was many a day for sorowe and shame."

During the winter of 1436–7 York began to distinguish himself, making the recapture of the towns round Paris his objective. His principal feat was the regaining of Pontoise in February, when, owing to a hard frost, the surrounding water defences were

[1] Jehan de Waurin, *Croniques* (Rolls Ser.), iv. 176–8.
[2] Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 396.

turned to the advantage of the besiegers. Other towns also fell before his arms, but in the spring of 1437, apparently at his own request, he was recalled to England. His appointment had only been for a year, but it seems strange that it should not have been continued, since he was so successful in his office. Possibly it was considered that he attempted too much for a young and inexperienced commander. He was replaced in July by the old Earl of Warwick, tutor to the King, who was now considered to be of age. This venerable warrior was not, however, destined to meet with much success.

In the autumn of 1437 Charles was at last prevailed upon to move. This time he actually led his army in person, and advanced to raise the siege of Montereau. This was accomplished on 10 October, and a month later, on 12 November, Charles made his triumphal entry into Paris, which he had not ventured to visit until then. There was the usual display of pageantry of a religious character. The King was accompanied by the seven cardinal virtues and the seven deadly sins, and was met by many sacred tableaux, of which the "acting was good and very affecting."[1] By the Châtelet gate he encountered the Last Judgment, with St. Michael in the centre weighing souls. The people sang carols as lustily as they were able. Charles however, only stayed in Paris three weeks, as the English were too near to be pleasant, and he then returned to the safe neighbourhood of the Loire.

[1] *Chron. of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, L. Douët d'Arcq., v. 303.

A new English commander made his appearance this year in the person of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, who up to this time had been a prisoner in France since the battle of Beaugé in 1421. This nephew of the Cardinal was now exchanged for the Count of Eu. His return, however, brought no particular advantage to the English arms, for none of the Beauforts were distinguished for their military capacity.

Little was done during 1438 owing to general distress, the famine in France being worse than usual. Wolves howled round Paris and grew so bold that they entered and devoured people in the streets. Charles made an expedition into Gascony, took the town of Tartas and advanced towards Bordeaux. The gallant defence of the Château de la Réole, however, detained him until winter set in, when the extreme cold forced him to retreat. Next year, 1439, John, Earl of Huntingdon, who had been appointed Lieutenant of Aquitaine, landed with a force of 2000 men, swept off the remnants of Charles's expedition, and made the country round Bordeaux once more secure.

During this winter a desire for peace had again made itself felt, fostered at home by the Beauforts, and arrangements began to be made for a conference in January 1439. The Ambassadors met in June at a spot between Calais and Gravelines. The English envoys, Cardinal Beaufort, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford, proposed to keep Calais, Normandy, Guienne and Maine, and offered to acknowledge

Charles as King of France if Henry might use the title also. This quaint arrangement was hardly likely to commend itself to the French, who were in a far stronger position than at the time of the proposals of Arras. On their side they refused to give up Maine, and insisted that Henry should do homage for the lands he was permitted to keep. Negotiations, however, dragged on until August. The Ambassadors do not appear to have spent all their time on business, for we read that they devoured many sweetmeats and pears, and it is further related that the Archbishop of Rheims hurt his foot playing at ball.[1] In the end the young Henry was persuaded by Gloucester, who still had considerable influence over him, to reject the French terms once more, and nothing was effected by the conference except a private truce for three years between England and Burgundy.

Charles, meanwhile taking advantage of the pause in the military operations, had begun to inaugurate the reforms in the organization of his army which were so greatly needed. Possibly this awakening to activity was caused by the influence of Burgundy, but more probably by that of his own vigorous and patriotic captains, such as Charles of Anjou, the Bastard of Orleans, Richemont, and Pierre de Brézé, who since the fall of La Trémouille had been able to gain the ear of the King and were gradually arousing him to sustained effort. In November 1439 the Estates General at Orleans re-enacted an old ordinance fixing the permanent cantonments of the troops, and

[1] Nicholas, *Proc. and Ord. of the Privy Council*, Chron. Cat. xix., etc.

also voted 1,200,000 livres a year for the support of the army, thus making a regular standing army possible for the first time. Charles, however, had little time at the moment for carrying out reforms, for the war had to be continued when the negotiations of 1439 failed, and he was further distracted by a conspiracy of his nobles, headed by the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon and the Comte de Vendôme, with the connivance of the Dauphin Louis, which threatened to plunge him into civil war. He was therefore for the present obliged to bide his time. Immediately after the envoys dispersed he took Meaux.

While the conference had been going on, England had sustained another loss in the death of the old Earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp, in April 1439—a seasoned and capable warrior, though lacking in brilliance.

> "He stode in grace of his commendacion
> Emonge all folke unto the day he died." [1]

His place was taken by the Duke of York, who in the following year was appointed Lieutenant-General in Normandy and France, with "like and sembable power as my Lord of Bedford had." [2]

In 1440 the decision was made to release the Duke of Orleans, who had been languishing as a prisoner in England for the last twenty-five years—since the

[1] Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 396.

[2] Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VI* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 586.

HOW KING HENRY MADE EARL RICHARD HIS LIEUTENANT OF FRANCE AND NORMANDY

Warwick Pageant. Brit. Mus. Cottonian MS. Julius E. IV

battle of Agincourt. Henry V had left strict injunctions that he should not be released during the minority of Henry VI, but it was now thought that a suitable moment had come, especially as the Duke of Burgundy was urgent for his liberation. Charles being at the moment distracted by the "praguerie"—the revolt of his disaffected nobles—it was privately hoped in England that the Duke of Orleans would join the insurgents and cause Charles so much embarrassment that he would be glad to conclude peace with the English. The ransom of the Duke was fixed at 40,000 nobles[1] on liberation, and 80,000 marks[2] to be paid within six months after his release unless peace was made as a result of his mediation. Gloucester, who had no wish for peace, was entirely opposed to his liberation, but for once his protest was in vain. Orleans took an oath on the sacrament, in the presence of all the Lords of the Council except Gloucester, who pointedly absented himself, not to bear arms against England, and on 3 November was given his safe conduct. He was received with open arms by Burgundy, who paid part of his ransom and gave him his niece in marriage. Charles was not overpleased at this ostentatious friendship between two ancient enemies, but far from being intimidated, only roused himself to fresh efforts towards the strengthening of his position. The praguerie was put down, and the release of Orleans was quite without the beneficial results hoped for by the English. In 1441 Charles found himself strong enough to enforce order within

[1] A noble = 6*s.* 8*d.* [2] A mark = 13*s.* 4*d.*

his domains. He conducted a punitive expedition against the " écorcheurs " who tormented the country, and succeeded in clearing Champagne of these dreaded brigands. Meanwhile steady advance was made by the French in Île-de-France. The last struggle in that district concentrated round Pontoise. The French laid vigorous siege to the town, but the defence was long and courageous under the captaincy of Lord Clifford. Talbot relieved it in June, but the French returned. Three times more they were driven back, once by York and twice by Talbot, and the struggle was fought out backwards and forwards across the Seine and the Oise; but at last the French stormed the town. They had built a bastille before it from which the English were unable to dislodge them, and on 16 September two furious assaults, lasting for five hours, won the town. With the fall of Pontoise the English occupation of Île-de-France was at an end. Such was the result of the first six years of fighting after the death of Bedford.

The next three years were occupied with desultory warfare of varying success. In 1442, by a rapid incursion into Normandy, Dieppe was surprised when the English were in their beds and once more taken by the French. Somerset occupied himself in making a " chivalrous promenade " through Normandy and Anjou, while Charles in person was harrying Gascony and making considerable inroads into Guienne. Incidentally the Count of Armagnac was placed in an embarrassing position by this expedition, for at that time Henry VI was considering the question of a

marriage with one of his daughters, and the poor Count, with Charles and his army on his very borders, dared not offend him by returning friendly answers to the English envoys. Hence the marriage fell through. Had Charles chosen any other time for invading Gascony Henry's future might have been less stormy.

Bordeaux was put in a state of defence by the gallant Archbishop Pey Berland, who followed up this action by going to London in person to beg assistance.

It now became pressing for England to send relief to Guienne, but York also was clamouring for reinforcements, all the efforts of Talbot (now Earl of Shrewsbury) being insufficient to recover Dieppe. In the limited state of the English resources the choice was rather a difficult one. Gloucester's influence at this time was a good deal impaired by the disgrace into which his wife had fallen for treasonable practices; Cardinal Beaufort, having consequently the ascendancy, succeeded in getting his nephew Somerset appointed to bear help to Guienne. A considerable force was raised, and Somerset, as "Captain-General of France and Guienne," set out in August 1443. This incident did not improve the relations between York and the Beauforts, for York, in addition to losing his reinforcements, felt that his rights as Lieutenant-General of France were infringed by Somerset's appointment, although the latter's authority was supposed to be restricted to regions not under the control of York. Somerset was an incompetent commander, and wasted his time and

his men in making useless raids into Maine and Anjou instead of pressing on to Bordeaux. Consequently he never reached Guienne at all, and returned home having done nothing. Probably his health was already failing, for he died in the following spring. His brother, Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, then succeeded to the Earldom of Somerset and to the influential position of the Beauforts, in which he was so soon to come into deadly conflict with York.[1]

The failure of this expedition and the eclipse of Gloucester's influence turned the inclinations of England once more towards peace, and the wish was shared by the Dukes of Burgundy, Brittany and Orleans, the last of whom was mindful of the conditions of his release. The Pope also urged the desirability of putting an end to the hostilities. The Beauforts and King Henry, moreover, were anxious that peace should be secured by the young King's marriage with Margaret, daughter of René of Anjou, who was brother to the Queen of Charles VII. Accordingly in 1444 the Earl of Suffolk and the Bishop of Chichester were sent over to France to negotiate both the betrothal and a truce. Suffolk's talents, however, were not such as fitted him for diplomatic service, and he betrayed such obvious eagerness to gain his ends that the French, seeing their opportunity, became more and more exorbitant in their demands. In the end nothing was gained but the promise of a truce for

[1] John Beaufort left a daughter, Margaret, who married Edmund Tudor, half-brother of Henry VI, and became the mother of Henry VII and ancestress of the Tudor Sovereigns.

two years, while Suffolk had committed Henry to receiving Margaret as his wife entirely without dower. Suffolk then returned to England holding out hopes that he would be able to convert the truce into a peace with suitable terms later on, and was made a marquis for his pains. At the beginning of 1445 he returned to Nancy, where René had his Court, "with great apparel of chayres"[1] to fetch the King's bride. But René, as already related, now demanded as a condition of the marriage the surrender of all the English strongholds in Maine and Anjou, René's ancestral lands. Suffolk's bungling had thus put him into a most unfortunate position, but he dared not draw back now and return ignominiously to England without the promised Queen on whom Henry had set his heart, and he was therefore obliged to accept these extraordinary terms. Doubtless he felt thankful that he had taken the precaution of obtaining an indemnity beforehand for anything that his embassy might involve. In February, Suffolk was married to Margaret as proxy for Henry, and she was then escorted to England by Suffolk and his wife.

The news of the surrender of Maine was kept secret as long as possible. In July, according to promise, French Ambassadors came over to treat for peace, but the negotiations proved futile, as the French, now grown bold, had set their hearts on gaining Normandy, and Parliament, probably distrustful of what concessions Suffolk might make, petitioned against the conclusion of peace on the grounds that Henry V

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 617.

had said that no treaty should be made without the consent of the three estates of the realm. The truce, however, was prolonged until November 1446. During the marriage truce many English Captains, who for long years had been serving in France, at last had an opportunity of returning home to see their wives and children.

Difficulties followed with the surrendered lands, for the English garrisons in Maine flatly refused to give up their towns to the French without striking a blow. The French demanded that they should be surrendered at once, but the English invented endless excuses for delay, and months passed into years while nothing was done. Lemans in particular gave great trouble and held out the longest. In the autumn of 1447 the Captain of the town received formal orders from England to surrender, but even then he continued to evade the necessity. At last, in exasperation, the French took matters into their own hands, entered Maine with an army in February 1448, and laid siege to Lemans. The town was forced to surrender on 16 March, and the garrison, with those ejected from other towns, evacuated Maine in a discontented frame of mind, destined to cause catastrophe in the near future, and took up their quarters at Mortain and St. James de Beuvron, near the borders of Brittany. Maine and Anjou thus passed out of English dominion, in spite of the quibbling protest of Matthew Gough that the cession was only on condition of a secure peace being concluded and that the English sovereignty was not resigned.

MAP OF FRANCE.

London; Constable & Co. Ltd.

Sifton, Praed & Co. Ltd.

Meanwhile the truce between England and France had been extended until 1449.

In 1447 York's term of office as Lieutenant-General of France expired. Parliament wished to reappoint him, but Somerset, who desired the post for himself, with the assistance of Suffolk "cautiously, shrewdly and subtly prevailed upon the King" [1] to recall York and give the appointment to him. It is possible that York was getting a little out of hand, for in 1445 he had proposed a marriage between his son Edward [2] (destined to become Edward IV) and the daughter of the French King, which seems a little ambitious at that stage of his fortunes. He was appointed in 1447 to that favourite post for inconvenient persons—the Lieutenancy of Ireland. He, however, improved the occasion by making himself very popular there, and his administration was so successful that—

> "All the Iryshe beganne him to obey,
> He ruled that lande full well and worthely." [3]

His wife Cecily, "the Rose of Raby," accompanied him to Ireland, and their son George, Duke of Clarence, was born in 1449 at Dublin Castle. Naturally York was much incensed with Somerset for thus sending him into exile, "so that," in the words of the chronicler, "a torch of anger burned vehemently in the furnace of his breast," [4] and a desire for revenge was thus

[1] Riley, *Reg. Abbat. J. Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), 160.
[2] He would then have been three years old.
[3] Hardyng's *Chronicle*, p. 399.
[4] Riley, *Reg. Abbat. J. Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), 160.

implanted which had the gravest influence upon subsequent events.

These years of truce since 1444 had been of the utmost importance to France. At last she had a breathing space in which to put her house in order. Charles, now thoroughly roused to a sense of his duties, both by the energy of his captains and, as is usually related, by the representations of Agnes Sorelle, undertook the reorganization of his army in good earnest. Attempts had already been made in 1439, as we have seen. In 1445 a Council, aided in its deliberations by all the notable military leaders of France, met at Nancy to discuss reforms. As a result of their deliberations the whole cavalry force of the army—which was the most important part in those days—was divided into "compagnies d'ordonnance" according to the districts from which they were recruited, and each company was commanded by a captain appointed by the King. These companies, of which there were fifteen, were each composed of a hundred "lances," each "lance" consisting of about six men. The soldiers were quartered in settled places, and each company was supported at the expense of the province from which it was drawn, and received regular pay. They were, moreover, strictly disciplined, a matter not easy of realization at first owing to the demoralized condition to which the war had long ago sunk, but one which was accomplished with time. The bands of "écorcheurs"—brigand free-lances—were effectually dispersed, and the pick of them enrolled in the new

companies. Order was gradually restored; the people no longer groaned under pillage and lawlessness, and once more ventured to till their fields, but since the reforms necessitated a tax which weighed heavily upon them in their distressed condition, they refrained from enthusiasm. The regular army of cavalry thus formed was reinforced in time of need by auxiliary companies of "petite ordonnance." The towns had always been accustomed to supply bodies of infantry, but now regular companies of "Franc-archers" were formed, these lightly armed bowmen being provided in a proportion of one from every fifty households in a parish. Thus a national infantry was created.

A peculiar feature of fifteenth-century warfare was the use, side by side, of the old-fashioned archers, both longbowmen and crossbowmen or "arbalést-riers," with the new artillery, the use of which was just beginning to be understood. We have here a period of transition between the old and new methods of warfare from a distance. The sinister genius of the brothers Jean and Gaspard Bureau provided Charles's army with these engines of war in such profusion that "no one could remember any Christian King ever having such great artillery." [1] All kinds of new-fangled cannon with fantastic names—venglaires, serpentines, crapeaulx, ribaudigues, and so on—were manufactured, with bombards and siege-engines and hand-guns. Charles's soldiers, moreover, were better

[1] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (Rolls Ser.), p. 373.

protected with armour than they had formerly been, and thus the number of casualties was reduced.

During these momentous five years of truce, therefore, Charles was preparing the instruments for the final expulsion of his enemies, and all was ready, on his side, for the renewal of war. The opportunity was provided by the foolhardiness of the English, who most obligingly played into his hands.

England meanwhile had been absorbed with her home affairs. The country, although outwardly quiet, was inwardly seething with discontent. The year 1447 saw the death of both Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort, and thus the government of the country had fallen into the incompetent hands of Suffolk and Somerset, the favourites of the young Queen. Matters were rapidly ripening for internal revolt, and no attention was paid to affairs in France. Henry's two remaining provinces, Guienne and Normandy, had been left to their own devices. Through false economy the defences of their strongholds had not been kept up, and in many places the garrisons had actually been reduced, and this even in Normandy, where public feeling was everywhere growing more and more anti-English. Even so the Treasury was so poverty-stricken that when war did break out Henry was obliged before the end of the year to pawn some of his jewels and plate in order to pay the army in Normandy.

One would have thought that in the state of affairs described every effort would have been made to keep the peace, but at this most unsuitable moment for England, and most propitious time for France, the

truce was broken by a wanton act of violence on the part of the English.

On 24 March, 1449, the discontented garrisons expelled from Maine, who had settled on the borders of Brittany, sallied forth, led by François de Surienne, Captain of Verneuil, crossed the frontier, and falling upon Fougères, one of the most prosperous towns of Brittany, stormed and pillaged it. An outburst of fury naturally followed. Arthur of Brittany, on receiving the news at an early hour, flew from his bed, and without even waiting to assume his clothing violently harangued his men, who did not appear to him to be sufficiently indignant at the outrage.[1] Charles and Burgundy, entirely entering into his feelings, heartily supported him in demanding the surrender of Fougères and the return of his goods, but Somerset, who might yet have saved the situation by offering suitable reparation, with incredible folly refused to give any apology or redress. The French, in retaliation, resorted to arms, and in May took Pont de l'Arche and Gerberoy in Normandy, and Cognac and St. Mégrin in Guienne. This so enraged Somerset that he refused to listen to offers of exchange, and consequently at the end of July Charles declared war. Normandy was all on his side and did not conceal it, as ran the song—

> "Très noble roy Charles François,
> Entens la supplicacion
> Des Normans contre les Anglois,
> La désolée et male nacion." [2]

[1] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (R. Blondel), p. 19.

[2] Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, IV. ii. 105.

The English were totally unprepared and their army was in a disorganized condition, but, far from grasping the situation, they merely began in the summer to raise reinforcements in the usual unhurried manner. But Charles, with his new and well-organized army, swept rapidly over Normandy with irresistible strength. Towns fell before his arms in all directions. Verneuil was betrayed by a miller whom the English had beaten for sleeping at his post; at Mantes the inhabitants forced the English to surrender by seizing a tower and a gate; Lisieux threw open its gates without striking a blow; at Essay the entire English garrison was surprised fishing at a pond some distance from the town, and was ignominiously captured; Roche-Guyon was surrendered by its captain with a view to securing the lands of his French wife.[1] These examples show sufficiently the condition of affairs. "It was evident that Heaven was against the English," concludes Monstrelet in his *Chronicle*, "and they were deserving of it, for it is a fact that they have always encroached on their Christian neighbours, as well in France as in Scotland, Ireland, Wales and elsewhere."[2] Such was the view of the Frenchmen of the time.

Talbot, "like a boar enraged,"[3] made a gallant attempt to break through the French lines before Verneuil and relieve the town, but was obliged to retreat to Rouen, where Somerset, hampered by the

[1] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (Berry the herald; Rolls Ser.), pp. 272–7.

[2] *Chron. of E. de Monstrelet* (trans. Thos. Johnes), ii. 155.

[3] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (R. Blondel; Rolls Ser.), p. 58.

presence of his wife and children, had shut himself up against the storm that was overwhelming him. In October Charles's army surrounded them. The French remained before Rouen for three days, but "suffered so greatly from the continual rains and storms that the whole army was nearly destroyed," [1] and they retired up the river to Pont de l'Arche. The inhabitants of Rouen, however, rose against the English and gained possession of two towers on the wall, hearing of which the French returned. An assault took place on 16 October, and a fierce fight was waged upon the wall between the two towers, but Talbot with great valour drove the French back with "miserable destruction," and they again withdrew to Pont de l'Arche. But at this the people of Rouen, not wishing to have their town sacked, sent a friendly embassy to Charles, and on 19 October "moved very resolutely" [2] against the English and compelled them to retire into the castle, after which they opened the gates to the French. Somerset, after a personal interview with Charles, was obliged to capitulate and accept disgraceful terms. He and his family and the English troops were permitted to retire unmolested on condition of surrendering to the French the castles of Arques, Lillebonne and Tancarville, and the towns of Caudebec, Montevilliers and Honfleur, together with a payment of 50,000 crowns. Honfleur, however, being more loyal to the English than most Norman towns, refused to surrender,

[1] *Chron. of E. de Monstrelet* (trans. Thos. Johnes), ii. 165.

[2] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (Berry; Rolls Ser.), p. 300.

and consequently Talbot and some others were detained as hostages. Somerset retreated to Caen, much discomforted.

On 10 November Charles VII entered Rouen in state, accompanied by René, King of Sicily, father of Queen Margaret of England, the Count of Maine his brother, and many other lords all very gorgeously dressed. The pageantry on this occasion was less religious than usual, and included a "Tyger with its young ones, who were admiring themselves in looking-glasses," and a stag that knelt by machinery when the King approached. The English hostages watched the proceedings from a window, "very pensive and hurt at heart." [1]

Thus the French in three months had gained control of the whole of the Lower Seine. By the end of the year Château Gaillard had fallen, and only nine towns of importance remained in the hands of the English.

At home, the Government was paralyzed by these disasters. The people were infuriated and vented their rage on the Bishop of Chichester, a friend of Suffolk's, whom they murdered when he came down to pay the troops collected at Portsmouth. Suffolk's own end was not long delayed. At length, in March 1450, the reinforcements — too small and too long delayed to be of much use—were actually ready, and on the 15th about 3000 men were landed at Cherbourg under the command of Sir Thomas Kyriel. Harfleur, Honfleur, Bellême—the last under Matthew Gough—and Fresnay had fallen meanwhile, since the

[1] *Chron. of E. de Monstrelet* (trans. Thos. Johnes), ii. 172.

beginning of the year. Kyriel succeeded in taking Valognes, which lay in his path, and after this delay marched towards Bayeux in order to join the detachments sent to his support by Somerset from the garrisons of Bayeux, Vire and Caen. With his army swelled by these bands to 5000 or 6000 men, Kyriel came into touch with the French at the "Fords of St. Clement." After a skirmish there on 14 April he reached the village of Formigny on the 15th, and there drew up in order of battle, hastily recalling Matthew Gough, who had gone on towards Bayeux. In front of their position the English dug "large holes and trenches with their daggers and swords" in order to embarrass the enemy's cavalry;[1] in their rear were orchards, gardens and a little river. The French army in front of them was commanded by the Comte de Clermont, who opened a heavy artillery fire upon their lines. The English, however, fought well and might have succeeded in holding their own if they had had Clermont only to deal with. Their defeat was due to the unexpected arrival of Richemont on their flank, of whose vicinity they seem to have been entirely unaware. Fearing his attack they fell back to the river, but there both Clermont and Richemont fell upon them and they were practically exterminated. Nearly 3800 English were killed and 1400 made prisoners; Kyriel was captured, but Matthew Gough succeeded in escaping to Bayeux with the remnant of the army. "Eight French at the most" are said to have been

[1] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (Berry; Rolls Ser.), 333.

killed,[1] but this is probably a more than optimistic view of the case.

The remaining English towns in Normandy quickly fell into the hands of the French. Vire surrendered; Avranches capitulated after three weeks of battering by Charles's engines, and the garrison was allowed to depart "each carrying a stick in his hand." Matthew Gough, at Bayeux, surrendered after a gallant defence, and the French, "for the honour of courtesy," lent them horses and carts to help convey the women and children to a place of safety, for there were a great many in the town. "Some carried the smallest of the children in their arms," says Berry the herald, "the next on their poor backs, and the bigger ones they led by the hand. It was a very miserable sight."[2] Somerset, his wife and children again with him, was shut up in Caen, Henry's university city, and thither Charles went in person and conducted a vigorous siege. After holding out for three weeks Somerset allowed his family feelings to get the better of him, and gave up the town on 24 June, when he was allowed to retire. Falaise surrendered in July on condition of the release of Talbot, who was thus freed, and departed on a journey to Rome. Only Cherbourg remained to the English, and after "a valiant defence" the town and castle capitulated on 12 August.

Thus Normandy, which had taken Henry the Sixth's father so many years of hard fighting to gain,

[1] *Chron. of E. de Monstrelet* (trans. Thos. Johnes), ii. 180.

[2] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (Berry; Rolls Ser.), 343.

was lost in a year, "which is a very wonderful thing," says Berry the herald, "for never was so large a country conquered in so short a time, nor with the loss of so few people, nor with less injury." [1] The English were so alarmed by the success of the French that they hastened to put the Isle of Wight in a state of defence.

Besides the town of Calais, which was to remain English ground for another hundred years, only a reduced Guienne now remained of the once broad dominions of the English in France. Charles lost no time in turning his energies in that direction, but the situation of affairs in the South was different from that in Normandy. The Guiennois, from long custom, were loyal to the English, for they had been connected with England for three centuries, ever since the marriage of Henry II with Eleanor of Aquitaine. The English rule over them was lenient, and the Gascons were attached to them because their independence had been respected; the wine-growers and wine-merchants of Bordeaux and the neighbourhood were also allowed special privileges, and the English dominion was therefore popular amongst them. At that time, however, England was unfortunately not in a position to send any assistance to Guienne. Although Cade's insurrection in the summer of 1450 had been suppressed, the country was, nevertheless, in a turbulent condition. York had returned from Ireland, and the danger of his rivalry with the unpopular Earl of Somerset was engrossing all the attention of the Council and

[1] Stevenson, *Narr. of Eng. Expulsion from France* (Berry; Rolls Ser.), 368.

the Parliament. The country was hovering on the verge of civil war, and it was therefore not remarkable that the interests of Guienne were neglected.

In the spring of 1451 Dunois marched south with an army and attacked the frontiers of the Bordelais. In May, Bureau and his famous artillery reduced Blaye; Libourne and the strong castle of Fronsac, the " key of Guienne," fell in June. At the end of the month Bordeaux, finding that there was no hope of succour from England, cautiously concluded a treaty with Charles safeguarding the liberties of the province, and on 30 June opened its gates. Bayonne held out until 20 August.

This time, however, the seemingly easy conquest of Guienne proved deceptive. The Comte de Clermont was appointed Governor for the French and set up a system of administration which did not meet with the approval of the people, particularly those in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux. They quickly became discontented with the taxes imposed upon them and with the body of " strangers " who collected them, and in 1452 they opened secret communications with England and sent an appeal for help. The inhabitants of Maine also sent a petition to Henry VI this year, complaining of the French occupation. The French, becoming aware of the unrest in Guienne, redoubled their exactions in the Bordelais, and the inhabitants redoubled their petitions to the English. At last, during a lull in the strife between York and Somerset, a final effort was made in England to raise troops, and the aged Talbot, now over eighty years of age, but

still full of energy, was sent out to Guienne with 3000 men. Landing on 17 October, 1452, he pushed rapidly forward, and Bordeaux gladly opened its gates to him on the 21st. The district round was quickly recovered, and Charles, who had withdrawn to the North, thinking that the English were about to threaten Normandy, made no attempt to return to the South and dislodge Talbot until the spring of 1453. Then, however, he gathered in full force. Meanwhile Talbot and his son, who had arrived with further reinforcements, had recovered Fronsac. When the French at length appeared in July they laid siege to Castillon on the Dordogne, under the direction of Jean Bureau, and Talbot marched out from Bordeaux with all his men to relieve it. On the morning of 17 July, while Talbot was hearing Mass, news was brought to him that the French were moving from their entrenchments. With his usual impetuosity he sprang up, and, rushing out in the middle of Mass regardless of the shocked remonstrance of one of his captains, ordered an immediate attack.[1] But Jean Bureau had three hundred cannon concealed behind his entrenchments, and received the English with a murderous fire. Nevertheless, they pressed forward gallantly. Talbot, conspicuous in a surcoat of red velvet, led the charge and actually planted his standard on the barrier; but at the next discharge of Bureau's culverins he fell. The French sprang out from their trenches and a fierce fight was waged over his body, during which one of the soldiers gave him the final blow without knowing who he was, and a flank attack

[1] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vii. 78.

decided the defeat of the English. With the death of the renowned Earl of Shrewsbury the last hope of English success in France perished.

Bordeaux held out for two months longer, but finally surrendered on 19 October.

The English dominion in France was at an end. No formal treaty of peace ended the Hundred Years War. The English would not acknowledge defeat, and the empty title of " King of France " was retained by the English monarchs until 1802; but they were unable at this time to continue the struggle, and consequently hostilities lapsed.

The loss of France by England, while it dealt a severe blow to the national pride, was in reality a great benefit to the country. The war had always been an unjust one, embarked upon and carried through largely from motives of vainglory and aggrandizement; it was also foolish, for the England of that day was not strong or rich enough to maintain a hold over another large nation even if she had been able, in the first place, to subdue it. The long strain of a century of warfare had exhausted the resources of England and had brought her to a weak and impoverished condition, but now that burden was removed, and she had not even to meet the expenses of the guardianship of Normandy and Guienne, she was able to turn all her attention to grappling with the turmoil of her internal condition. All her resources were needed for this task, and thus the loss of the French dominions was the best thing which could have happened under the circumstances. At the time, of course, the disasters to the

English arms caused an outburst of indignation and discontent at home, all of which hastened on the outbreak of civil strife—a conflict which owed much of its ferocity to the fierce and lawless spirit fostered in England by the long period of warfare abroad.

The same year in which France finally freed herself from the English dominion witnessed an event of world-wide importance in the East. In May, Constantinople had fallen before the Turks, and the seeds of the "new learning" were about to be scattered over Europe.

One thing more remained for the victorious Charles to do—that was to clear the memory of Jeanne d'Arc from the sentence of heresy and sorcery passed upon her by the English. Certainly it would have been more to the point if he had made an attempt to save her while she was yet alive; why he did not no one knows. Probably the influence of La Trémouille was too strong. But it must be remembered that Jeanne was not held by the English as an ordinary prisoner of war, but was claimed by the Church as a heretic suspect, and it is therefore quite likely that Charles, as a Catholic King, was afraid to meddle with her lest a stain should be cast upon his own orthodoxy. It would surely have been an unheard-of thing to attempt to ransom a heretic. For the same reason she could hardly have been exchanged for English prisoners of war.[1] We will hope that Charles had a disinterested and sincere wish to

[1] It is usually cited against Charles that Talbot was among the prisoners in his hands at the time, and would have been a fitting exchange; but Talbot was ransomed in 1430 for 8000 marks, before the English had gained possession of Jeanne. See Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VI*, i. 422.

clear Jeanne's memory, but, since to the mediæval mind heresy appeared as a kind of awful and contagious poison, the King also thought it desirable that he himself should thus be cleared from the stain of association with a heretic and sorceress, from which we may perceive that his motive was not altogether unselfish.

When Charles took Rouen in 1449 all the documents relating to the trial came into his possession, and in February 1450 he instituted an inquiry under the direction of William Bouillé, Rector of the University of Paris. "For the honour of the most Christian King," declared the Rector, "it is impossible to pass over in silence a sentence iniquitous, scandalous and dishonouring to the royal crown, fulminated by that Bishop of Beauvais who was the enemy of the King and who, as is immediately seen, thirsted to confound the King our Sire. What a stain would sully the royal throne if our adversaries persuaded posterity that the King of France had gathered into his army a heretic, an invocator of the devil!" [1] The lawyers appointed to this inquiry gave it as their opinion to the King and Council that the trial had been irregular both in substance and form, but no public declaration was made, Charles apparently being satisfied. Not content with this, Jeanne's mother, Isabel d'Arc, petitioned Pope Nicholas V in 1452 that a further inquiry should be made. It was accordingly done, with the same result as before, but still without any public declaration, partly because the Pope did not wish to hurt the

[1] Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, IV. ii. 112.

feelings of the English. At last, in 1455, Pope Calixtus III, being less timid, ordered a new and thorough examination to be made, and appointed for the purpose the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Paris and Coutances, and Jean Bréhal, Inquisitor of France. A large number of witnesses were called to testify to Jeanne's life and character, including the people of Domremy who had known her as a girl, and all the available persons who had been with her during her public life, beginning with the Comte de Dunois. The whole matter having been carefully sifted, a sentence of rehabilitation was pronounced on 7 July, 1456, in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Rheims.

"We say, pronounce, decree and declare the said Processes and Sentences full of cozenage, iniquity, inconsequences and manifest errors, in fact as well as in law; we say that they have been, are and shall be . . . null, non-existent, without value or effect. Nevertheless, in so far as is necessary, and as reason doth command us, we break them, annihilate them, annul them, and declare them void of effect; and we declare that the said Jeanne and her relatives, Plaintiffs in the actual Process, have not on account of the said Trial contracted nor incurred any mark or stigma of infamy." [1]

This sentence was ordered to be proclaimed in the Square of St. Ouen and in the old market-place of Rouen, with a solemn procession and a public sermon on each occasion. It was also ordered that a cross should be erected to perpetuate her memory.

[1] *Jeanne d'Arc* (ed. J. Douglas Murray), 326–7.

There the matter rested for four and a half centuries until Pope Pius X declared his decision that Jeanne d'Arc was worthy of admission to the ranks of the saints. Accordingly she was beatified on 13 December, 1908, and the ceremony of canonization took place at St. Peter's on 18 April, 1909.

Since the Scots were a good deal involved in the Hundred Years War, this will be a convenient place to consider their influence on English affairs both at home and abroad during the first thirty years of the reign of Henry VI.

When Henry came to the throne James I of Scotland was a prisoner in England, as we have seen, and Albany ruled as Regent. In 1420, in response to an embassy from Charles VI asking for assistance, a large Scottish force had been sent to France under Albany's son, the Earl of Buchan, with Archibald, eldest son of Douglas, and Sir John Stewart of Darnley. Henry V, in the hope of influencing the Scots, had thereupon taken James over to France with him, but it was to the Scottish force that his severe reverse at Baugé in 1421 was due.

In 1423, therefore, the ministers of Henry VI came to the decision that it would be best to release James, in the hope that he might put a check upon the Scotch help sent to France. To further bind him to English interests it was arranged that he should marry an English Princess. This was easy, for he had already fallen deeply in love with Joan Beaufort, the sister of the Earl of Somerset. James had grown up skilful in knightly exercises, a good scholar, and no mean poet,

for he composed in honour of his love the famous "King's Quair"—

"And therewith kest I doun myn eye ageyne
Quhare as I saw walkyng under the Toure,
Full secretely, new cumyn hir to pleyne,
The fairest or the freschest young floure
That ever I sawe methought before that houre,
For quhich sodain abate, anon astert
The blude of all my body to my hert.

And though I stood abasit tha a lyte
No wonder was, for quhy my wittis all
Were so ou'ercome with plesance and delyte
Onely through latting of myn eyen fall
That sudaynly my hert became hir thrall
For ever of free wyll; for of menace
There was no takyn in hir suete face." [1]

After spending the Christmas of 1423 with the English Court at Hertford, his marriage to Joan took place at St. Mary Overy, Southwark, on 13 February, 1424. His ransom—politely called payment "for his maintenance in England"—was fixed at £40,000, to be paid in six years. A quarter of it was, however, remitted as his bride's dowry. Hostages were given for the rest of the sum, but as it was never paid these unfortunate men languished in England for the rest of their lives. A truce was made at the same time, for seven years, on the understanding that each side should refrain from helping the enemies of the other.[2]

James, the ablest of the Stewart Kings, set out for his kingdom on 28 March, entered Scotland on 9 April,

[1] Ramsay, *Lanc. and York* (quoting Skeat, Scottish Text Soc.), i. 338.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, x. 325–7.

and was crowned at Scone on 21 May. The aim he set before him was to put an end to the lawlessness of his nobles, and in this struggle he lived and died.

He seemed unable, however, to exert any authority over the Scottish troops abroad. According to the somewhat imaginative chronicler Hall, "after he had once taken the ayre and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle"[1] he never again showed any favour to the land of his captivity.

The Scots formed an important element in the French army at the battle of Crevant, and also at Verneuil, where they suffered great loss and where two of their leaders perished. It was the impetuosity of Stewart of Darnley which caused the French discomfiture at the "Day of Herrings." To the great credit of the Scots, they were ever faithful to Jeanne d'Arc, and never either deserted or betrayed her.

At home, after the expiration of the truce in 1433, border hostilities once more broke out, but in 1436, at Christmas, James I was murdered at Perth, and a minority followed. The connection with France was, however, strengthened. The eldest daughter of James I married the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI, while in 1448 James II requested the King of France to suggest a suitable wife for him.[2] The lady selected was Mary of Gueldres, niece of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, with whom Charles VI was then allied, and the marriage thus arranged took place in the following year. In

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 119.

[2] Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Hen. VI* (Rolls Ser.), I. 197.

1450, when Charles had won back Normandy from the English, James actually sent an embassy to congratulate him and to encourage him to prosecute the war.[1] With the outbreak of the Civil War, however, James adopted an attitude of friendship to the Lancastrians, while the Earl of Douglas fled to England and became a friend of the Yorkists.

[1] Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Hen. VI* (Rolls Ser.), i. 301.

CHAPTER VI

1450–1453 : JACK CADE'S REBELLION AND THE BIRTH OF PRINCE EDWARD

At Whitsuntide 1450—Whit-Sunday that year fell on 24 May—Parliament was sitting at Leicester, apparently oblivious of danger, when the news arrived of a serious rising in the turbulent county of Kent.

It seems to have been a characteristic of the Lancastrian Government that it was never prepared for anything; in this case there had been many indications of unrest, from which they might have taken warning.

London, as we have already seen, was in such a disturbed state that Court and Parliament had been removed from it after the release of Suffolk. But even before this outbreaks had begun in Kent. At Canterbury, one Thomas Cheyney, a fuller, "calling himself an heremite cleped Blew-berd,"[1] had raised an insurrection early in the year, but had been captured on 9 February. His head and body were duly ordered to be distributed about the country for the warning of the people, but Cheyney, or his cause, was looked upon so favourably in Kent that the King's officers had some difficulty in getting their orders carried out, "by cause that unneth any persones durst or wolde

[1] *Orig. Letters Illus. of Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), Ser. II. i. 115.

take upon hem the caridge of the seyd hed and quarters for doute of her lives." [1] According to Fabyan's *Chronicle*, Cheyney was only one of several insurgent leaders, for, he says, there " ensued a rebellyon of the commons, in so moche that they assembled them in sondry places and made of themself capitaynes and named them Blewe berde and other counterfayte names," and this is borne out by the fact that on 17 February the Council sent a warning to the Mayors of Canterbury, Colchester, Sudbury, Sandwich and Oxford, the Portreeve of Maidstone, and the Bailiffs of Winchelsea not to permit assemblies or gatherings of the people.

Suffolk was removed, but his hated associates were in as great favour at Court as ever, so that the Government had not improved. Moreover, Suffolk's murder off the coast of Kent and the casting of his body on the beach of Dover had given rise to a strange rumour " that Kent should be destroyed with royall power and made a wild forest " [2] in revenge for his death. On the top of this came the news of the utter rout of Sir Thomas Kyriel and his reinforcements at Formigny, and the last hope of success in Normandy was shattered. This proved the last straw, and the discontent in the south-east could no longer be restrained.

But this rising of 1450, commonly known as Jack Cade's Rebellion, was no mere disorderly outbreak among the peasantry, but an organized rising of the people of Kent, East Sussex, Surrey and Essex

[1] *Orig. Letters Illus. of Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), Ser. II. i. 115.
[2] B. B. Orridge, *Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion*, 31.

against the political grievances caused by the intolerable weakness and incompetence of the Government. Cade, says one of the chroniclers, called himself John Amende-alle, "forasmuche as thanne and longe before the reme of Englond hadde be[en] rewlid be untrew counselle . . . so that alle the comune peple what for taxes and tallages and other oppressions myght not live be thair handwork and husbondrie, wherfore thay grucchid sore ayens thaym that hadde the gouernaunce of the land." [1] That these abuses were very real and urgent may be seen from the formal complaints and requests drawn up by the insurgents and presented by Cade. These pointed out that—

1. The King had given away the Crown lands to such an extent that, while others were thus living upon his revenue, he was obliged to live upon the Commons and oppress them by heavy taxation. In addition to this the stuff and purveyance for his household were often not paid for, but improperly extorted by his officers.

2. The offices of collectors of the revenue were bought and sold, whereas these officials ought to be "indifferently" appointed by the "knights of the shires," *i. e.* the local Members of Parliament.

3. The knights of the shires themselves were not elected as they should be, for election by the freeholders was interfered with by the influence of the great men of the county, who compelled the people to elect their nominees.[2]

[1] *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 64.

[2] In 1430 the franchise had been restricted to 40*s.* freeholders.

4. The administration of justice was in a most corrupt condition. The sheriffs extorted excessive bail; the County Sessions were held in remote places, so that men were sometimes compelled to travel a five days' journey to attend them, to their great cost and inconvenience; writs of "Green Wax" to enforce payment of Crown dues were served without summons or warning; feigned impeachments and indictments were brought against any one chosen by the Court favourites with the object of obtaining their lands, for the people were often too poor to pursue their right, hence evictments were common. Locally, the Ministers of the Court of Dover arrested people all over the county, far beyond the castle ward, and extorted large fines from them. The Barons of the Cinque Ports aroused jealousy by their exemption from the tax of the fifteenth penny.

5. The King's lands in France had been lost by mismanagement, and the "traitors" who were responsible for this went unpunished.

The English disasters in France were a serious matter to many, for in the previous year Burgundy, now completely on the side of Charles, had prohibited the import of English cloth into Flanders, and thus the English clothiers lost for a time their chief market, and many must have been thrown out of work to swell the company of the discontented. The salt and wine trade from Guienne was also stopped, and the channel was so ill kept by the English navy that French pirates endangered shipping and even landed on the coast of Sussex.

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6. Offices were only conferred on favourites, " mean persons " of low birth, while lords of the royal blood were " put out of the King's presence."

York was particularly pointed at as an example of this, but it is improbable that he had any actual connection with the rising. People would naturally look to him, as the known enemy of Suffolk and the Beauforts, to abolish their abuses. On the other hand, since the rising was aimed against the misgovernment of the Queen's party, the friends of York would naturally be ready to support it.

These being the chief points of grievance, Cade therefore petitioned that—

1. The King should resume the Crown lands.

He would probably be ignorant of the fact that this had just been partially effected by the Parliament at Leicester. After the news of the disaster of Formigny, Henry had yielded to their urging and had consented to the resumption of the Crown lands on condition that he could grant exceptions. But since his exceptions included every one of importance to whom he had given them—the Court, the Household, and his Charitable Foundations—this resumption did not amount to much after all.

2. Suffolk's minions should be removed, and the Dukes of York, Exeter, Norfolk and Buckingham recalled.

3. The extortions of the King's officers were to cease, and the abuses of justice to be removed.

4. The irksome provisions of the Statute of Labourers, imposing penalties on labourers who demanded

more than a certain wage,[1] were to be repealed, for the conditions had altered.

This seems to have been the only social grievance put forward by the insurgents.

The people of Kent were the most enlightened and advanced section of the population of England. They were industrial and prosperous, and their democratic tendency had perhaps been fostered, as one writer suggests, by the ancient custom of gavelkind, peculiar to that part of the country, by which a man's land was divided between all his sons instead of passing to the eldest; thus a numerous body of small-holders would be created.

During Whitsunweek 1450, therefore, the men of Kent swiftly and silently mustered in the cause of administrative reform. We know from the pardons subsequently entered upon the Patent Rolls, and investigated by Mr. Durrant Cooper, what manner of men the gathering included.[2] The list included one knight—Sir John Cheyne from the Isle of Sheppey—eighteen squires, seventy-four "gentlemen," a large company of yeomen, five parsons, and two "holy-water clerks." In many Hundreds the levies were called out in the regular manner by their constables, and twenty-seven of these officials were involved. Many parishes also furnished local contingents. The Mayor of Queenborough was among the insurgents, and the Bailiff of Folkestone, whose townspeople were pardoned in a body. The towns of Canterbury,

[1] See Chap. I.

[2] B. B. Orridge, *Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion*, 25–9.

Chatham, Rochester, Maidstone and Sandwich were also deeply involved. Men engaged in all kinds of occupations appear on the list, which furnishes considerable information on the industries of the time. This assemblage, representative of the entire populace of the county, chose for its leader Jack Cade, a man of whose origin various tales are told and nothing definitely known. For the furtherance of his cause Cade declared himself to be John Mortimer, thus claiming cousinship with the late Earl of March, and relationship with the Duke of York. This claim, however, was entirely fictitious. In all probability his name really was Cade, for investigations have shown that it was a common enough name in that part of the country from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. He is, however, stated by several writers to have been an Irishman,[1] or at least to have been born in Ireland, which may have been laid stress upon as subtly indicating a connection with the Duke of York during his Lieutenancy there. The tale that he had been outlawed from England for the murder of a woman seems improbable, for, in that case, how could he have recovered his position as a gentleman of substance in Kent by 1450? That he was a landed man of a family of some standing is proved by the fact that after this rebellion his "goods, lands and tenements, rents and possessions" were forfeited, and his blood declared corrupt, which would not have been necessary had he been a mere soldier of fortune. It

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 39; *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 64.

is much more probable that he had served for some time in the French wars, and had thus acquired the military experience and capacity which he afterwards displayed, and that his enemies invented, or appropriated from another person of a somewhat similar name, the discreditable reason for his going. How was it that such a company of squires, gentry, yeomen and wary townsmen were willing to serve under him without a murmur of discontent? And how was it that Robert Poynings, uncle of Baroness Poynings, afterwards Countess of Northumberland, consented to act as his carver and sword-bearer? It seems clear that his claim to be John Mortimer must have been fervently believed in, and, coupled with considerable capacity for command, and perhaps some personal magnetism, was sufficient to win their entire confidence. Otherwise he must have been a known and respected man in the county, and in that case he would not have needed to assume a well-known name. The former alternative, therefore, was probably the correct one. Also we are told that, when in London, Cade caused a man named Bailly to be executed, ostensibly as a necromancer, but, as his enemies said, for knowing too much of his past.[1] This man was perhaps in possession of the innocent but inconvenient knowledge that the Captain's name was Cade and not Mortimer. This revelation was, however, nipped in the bud, and he was known to every one as Mortimer until the middle of July, when he had retreated to Rochester, and when the Government proclaimed him a traitor under

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 624.

the name of Cade. Then he evidently thought the game was up, and fled. All this points to the fact that his ascendancy was based on his acceptance as Mortimer, representative of political and dynastic opposition to Lancastrian misrule. Whoever he was he headed a movement—national in feeling so far as it went—for the reform of crying abuses in the government of the country, and against the oppression and injustice of a corrupt ministry.

"Mortimer" and his host, setting out in the last days of May, marched towards London, and on 1 June encamped on Blackheath, between Eltham and Greenwich. He maintained his men by pillaging the country round, and opened communication with London. His agent in the city was Thomas Cooke, a draper, and a man of some importance, for he afterwards became Mayor, and at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV, was made a Knight of the Bath. Through his agency the Italian merchants in London were required to provide Cade with a thousand marks in money, twelve "harnesses," [1] the same number of brigandines,[2] battle-axes and glades,[3] and six horses with their harness. This they apparently did.

The King at Leicester, upon hearing the news of the rising, immediately dissolved Parliament and rode to

[1] Coats of armour.

[2] Pliable armour made of little plates of iron sewn on quilted linen or leather.

[3] Glaives (?); applied either to a broadsword or to a long cutting blade at the end of a lance: B. B. Orridge, *Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion*, 4.

London, arriving there on 7 June. There he lingered awhile, hoping to be able to come to terms with the rebels and thus avoid the bloodshed he abhorred. Upon Henry sending men of some standing to inquire the purpose of their coming, Cade presented the petitions and grievances already set forth;[1] and on 17 June they were examined by the Council. It is noticeable that in this document no attack was made upon Henry himself, who was still popular. The people were fully aware that he was misled by evil and incompetent advisers, and they even represented him as not being allowed to pay his debts. Whatever the Council may have advised with regard to these very reasonable petitions, at this juncture the Court party was too strong. They were rejected, and the rebels bidden to disperse. Cade, seeing that the royal army would now advance against him, "slipped away in the night"[2] and fell back towards Bromley and Sevenoaks, probably with a view to meeting the Sussex men, who were preparing to join him. On 18 June Henry left St. John's, Clerkenwell, where he had been lodging, and riding through London "armyd at alle pecys"[3] advanced with his troops to Blackheath. But there he made a mistake, for, either through an underrating of the enemy's strength, or, as it is said, by the persuasion of Margaret, who feared for her husband's safety, only a part of the army was

[1] See above, p. 191–194.

[2] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 40.

Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London (ed. Gairdner), 191.

sent in pursuit of the insurgents, while Henry remained at Blackheath with the rest.

Near Sevenoaks the Kentish men turned upon the King's troops and defeated them, killing their leaders, Humphrey and William Stafford, with twenty-four of their men. Upon hearing this, Henry's army at Blackheath promptly mutinied and proclaimed their adherence to Cade's petitions, clamouring for the heads of Lords Say and Dudley, John Norris, John Say, Daniel, Trevilian and others, the most hated of the courtiers. Henry, much dismayed, retired with his lords to Greenwich, but finding that the men refused to be pacified, he disbanded them and sent Lord Say and his son-in-law, Crowmer, the unpopular Sheriff of Kent, to the Tower as a slight concession. The troops, before returning to their homes, re-entered London, plundered the houses of Lord Dudley and Thomas Starlawe, and then dispersed. At the end of the month Henry, in spite of the wise desire of many of the Londoners that he should stay with them, retired to Kenilworth.

The movement was now spreading in an alarming fashion. "At this unhappy time," says one chronicler, "insurrection was spread all over England because all the people were wandering from their lords and superiors, not fearing to spoil them." [1] Disturbances broke out all over the South and East. The gentlemen of East Anglia assembled at Framlingham; the men of Essex rose and marched towards London; in Dorset

[1] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 41.

and at Southampton there were outbreaks. In Wiltshire, the people's vengeance fell upon Aiscough, Bishop of Salisbury, who was high in favour at Court, and had officiated at Henry's marriage. On 29 June, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the Bishop "was slayn of his owen parisshens and peple at Edyngdoun aftir that he hadde said masse, and was drawe fro the auter and led up to an hille ther beside; in his awbe [alb], and his stole aboute his necke; and there thay slow him horribly, thair fader and thair bishoppe, and spoillid him unto the nakid skyn and rente his blody shirte in to pecis and baar thaym away with thaym, and made bost of their wickidnesse." [1] Bishop Aiscough and the Bishop of Chichester, who had been slain at Portsmouth in the previous January, are said to have been "wonder covetous men and evil beloved among the comune peple and holde suspect of many defautes, and were assentyng and willyng to the deth of the duke of Gloucestre as it was said." [2]

"Mortimer's" army was now joined by the men of East Sussex. There, as in Kent, the levies of the Hundreds had been called out, the Constables of twenty-two Hundreds being involved, with the Constable of Southover, the Constable and burgesses of the borough of Lewes, and the Bailiffs of Pevensey and Seaford. The Abbot of Battle and the Prior of Lewes, with their communities, supported the movement, which was joined by twenty-seven county gentlemen and a large number of yeomen, husbandmen

[1] *Eng. Chron. Rich. II. to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 64.
[2] *Ibid.*

and labourers. Nine towns[1] and three parishes afterwards received wholesale pardons.

Thus reinforced from Sussex and Surrey, and hearing of the disaffection and dispersion of Henry's followers, Cade returned to Blackheath,[2] and on 1 July advanced to Southwark, where the Captain lodged at the "Hart." On the same day the men of Essex reached Mile End.

On 2 July a Council of Aldermen was called at the Guildhall to consider the question of admitting Cade and his men to the city. This Council showed itself to be strongly anti-Lancastrian; already on 26 June, as soon as the King had retired to Kenilworth, they had expelled one of their number, Philip Malpas, who had been elected by the compulsion of Henry VI in 1448. According to Fabyan the only alderman who now ventured to oppose Cade's admittance was Robert Horne, a "stokfysshmonger," who "spake sore agayne theym that wold have hym entre. For the whiche sayinges the comons were so amovyd agayne hym that they ceasyd not tyll they hadde hym commytted to warde."[3] It appears, however, from the City Records, as if the Council did not venture to go so far as to admit Cade by public consent, for later an inquiry was held to discover how it was that the rebel leader actually gained admission. At this

[1] Robertsbridge, Pevensey, Seaford, Alfriston, Cliffe-by-Lewes, Dallington, Brightling, Westham and Milton. There is, however, no Milton in Sussex, but several in Kent, and one in Surrey.

[2] Gregory's *Chronicle* makes the strange and improbable statement that they returned under a different captain, who pretended to be the same as before.

[3] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 623.

inquiry evidence was given that it was not until Cade threatened to set fire to London Bridge, and thereby to the city, that the keys of the gate were brought to him by one Thomas Godfrey, a spurrier, apparently without the consent of the City Council.[1]

The way thus being opened to him, Cade and his men entered London about five o'clock in the afternoon. As he entered, the Captain took the precaution of cutting the ropes of the drawbridge with his sword, and as he passed down Cannon Street he struck the London Stone, crying "Now is Mortimer lord of this city." He was careful to keep up an imposing appearance, and rode about sword in hand, wearing the gilt spurs of a knight, armed with a brigandine and gilt head-piece, and clothed in a gown of blue velvet. He also had a sword carried in state before him.[2]

The insurgents retired to Southwark for the night, but re-entered London on the following morning, 3 July, and proceeded to hunt out the "traitors" against whom they had a special grudge. Say and Crowmer, whom Henry had left in the Tower, were brought forth. The Mayor and justices attempted to give Lord Say trial at the Guildhall, but when the unfortunate man claimed trial by his peers, Cade's men carried him off and beheaded him at the Standard in Cheapside. Crowmer, his son-in-law, was decapitated at Mile End, without Aldgate, "besyde Clopton ys Place,"[3] whither Cade had gone to join the Essex

[1] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 283.
[2] *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 66.
[3] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 192.

men, and the heads of both victims were carried about triumphantly on poles. It was then that Thomas [1] Bailly was executed at Whitechapel on a charge of necromancy, or, as Cade's enemies afterwards said, because he knew too much of the Captain's past life.

Up to this time good discipline had been kept in spite of these acts of vengeance, but now Cade permitted himself to plunder the house of Philip Malpas, the Lancastrian alderman. Malpas, however, had been warned, and escaped with some of his goods. Next day, 4 July, Cade made the mistake of permitting further robbery, and as a consequence of this the scum of the city became attracted to his following, while the peaceable and law-abiding citizens became seriously alarmed. Had he not done this, as one chronicler points out, he " myght have goon fer in the lande, ffor the King and all the lordis were departid." [2] On 5 July, Sunday, the insurgents remained all day at their quarters in Southwark, but meanwhile the situation was changed. The fickle Londoners, afraid for their possessions, abandoned their hearty support of Cade and appealed for help to Lord Scales and Matthew Gough, who held the Tower but hitherto had not dared to move. Supported by these troops the Londoners at ten in the evening attempted to take possession of the bridge, but Cade, calling his men to arms, strenuously opposed them. All night the battle raged on London Bridge, with no decisive result. Matthew Gough, the veteran of the French

[1] Or John. [2] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 161.

wars, was killed, and in the end the insurgents fired the bridge and withdrew to their quarters south of the river. Their next act was to break open the King's Bench and Marshalsea Prisons and release the prisoners. Cade was excluded from the city, but he was by no means defeated. Had London been true to his cause he might have accomplished much; as it was the Government was sufficiently impressed by his strength to perceive the necessity of treating with him. Archbishop Kemp, or according to some writers both Archbishops, accompanied by William Waynflete, the universally respected Bishop of Winchester, were appointed to negotiate: Kemp being particularly suitable as a Kentish man whose mother came from Sussex. The meeting took place in St. Margaret's Church, Southwark. The Captain seems to have impressed the envoys favourably—he is described as "a sotill man." [1] They received his petitions, but apparently without committing themselves, and granted a free pardon to him (as John Mortimer) and to all his followers on condition of their dispersing quietly. The insurgents, believing that their object was won, took advantage of the pardon and dispersed in large numbers. A considerable band, however, seems to have remained with Cade at Southwark for some days longer; the Captain is said to have persuaded them that their pardons were insufficient without the ratification of Parliament, but in any case it was more than rash of him to remain in arms. About the 8th he went with this company to Rochester,

[1] *Eng. Chron. Rich. II to Hen. VI* (ed. J. S. Davies), 65.

whither the booty they had gained in London was shipped by water. On the 9th he led an assault on Queenborough Castle, but it was successfully defended by Sir Roger Chamberlayn. The Government then issued an attainder against the Captain, for the first time naming him as John Cade, on the grounds that he had levied war subsequent to his pardon, which was also declared to be invalid because it was made out in the name of Mortimer. A price of a thousand marks was put upon his head. Cade returned on the 11th to Rochester, where a quarrel ensued with some of his men over the booty. But he dared not tarry. His claim to be Mortimer dissipated, he seemed finally to lose hold over his men. He fled in disguise into Sussex, to the wooded country near Lewes, but he was hotly pursued by the new sheriff, Crowmer's successor, Alexander Iden,[1] who ran him to earth in a garden at Heathfield. Cade fought for his life, but fortunately for himself under the circumstances, was mortally wounded in the struggle and died before Iden got him to London. At Southwark the corpse was exposed at the " Hart " and identified by " the wyffe of the house," [2] and on the 15th was delivered to the Council by Iden, who subsequently received an annuity and was made keeper of Rochester Castle. Cade's head, according to the usual barbarous custom, was placed on London Bridge, with the face turned towards Kent. His corpse, after being drawn through London

[1] Iden afterwards married Crowmer's widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Say.

[2] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 194.

on a hurdle, was distributed in quarters as a warning to Blackheath, Norwich, Salisbury and Gloucester. At the time only two of his followers were executed. His booty was claimed by the King and sold to the original owners, so that the Crown was the gainer in the transaction. It was a strange, haphazard collection of objects, including, besides many articles of value, " one muske-ball to smell at," the " nose of a kandelstyk of silver," and a " paire of shetys." [1]

On 1 August a commission directed by the two Archbishops, Waynflete, the Duke of Buckingham and others, was appointed to punish the Kentish rebels. They sat at Canterbury and executed eight persons, but the country was far from being quieted. At the end of the month fresh insurrections, on a much smaller scale, broke out in Wiltshire and at Faversham, where the rising was headed by William Parmynter, a smith, who called himself the second Captain of Kent.[2] As late as October, Somerset, who had returned to England about August, was granted a reward for taking " a risare ayenst oure pees, oon John Smyth, that called himself Capitayne of Kent the which made yere a grete gadering of people." He was then sent into Kent to restore peace and " chastise ther the contrairie labourers therof." [3]

Let us pause here to examine the state of the country at this time—the very middle of the fifteenth century. Truly England seems to have reached the low-water

[1] B. B. Orridge, *Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion*, 36.
[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), Intro., lxxxvii.
[3] *Proc. of the Privy Council* (ed. Sir Harris Nicholas), vi. 101–2.

mark of her history during these years. A period of transition must always be attended by dislocation, unrest and distress, and England was then in the throes of the great transition between mediæval and modern institutions and ideals. All Europe was struggling in the darkness of outworn and decaying mediævalism before the dawn of the fresh era which was heralded by the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Perhaps at this moment a weak monarchy and an incompetent government were in reality fortunate circumstances for the ultimate good of the country. Disastrous as the reign of Henry VI appears viewed at close quarters, and distressful as it must have been for the majority of the people whose unhappy lot it was to be living during that period, at this distance of time we are able to see its expediency and its true place in the history of the nation.

It was necessary that a great clearance should be made. The old institutions had exhausted their vitality, were no longer sufficient to cope with the needs of the time, and must be swept away or transformed. A strong monarchy at this point might therefore have been a great hindrance to progress. Had Henry VI been such a man as his father he would probably have thrown all his energies into the task of buttressing the old order of things, and would have done his best to arrest its decay. A weak rule, on the other hand, was powerless to check the forces of disintegration; the feudal system fell to pieces; the feudal Baronage, whose overweening power could set the Government at naught, left to its own devices,

destroyed itself and thus did its part in clearing the path for the strong and revivifying monarchy of the Tudors.

Poor Henry, serving his country by his very weakness, perished in the chaos which hastened the birth of a new age.

The main causes of the break-down of the manorial system we have already seen,[1] with the resulting decline of agriculture and the increase of industrial pursuits. This for a time caused great distress, for the men who had left, or who had been cast out from their agricultural pursuits, found their way to industrial employment largely barred by the selfish and exclusive policy of the Craft Gilds. Many found employment, as we shall presently see, in the cloth industry, but a large number were without work and became paupers or "sturdy vagabonds." Thus even then there existed the germs of the modern unemployed problem. Even complaints of the employment of aliens were not wanting! The distress must have been great, for there were frequent years of bad harvest during the reign of Henry VI, and there was no organized system of Poor Relief. The ideas of that time did not go beyond the occasional foundation of almshouses and hospitals for the indigent, and indiscriminate almsgiving for the rest. The little pauperism which had occurred hitherto had been chiefly dealt with by the monasteries, but now, in addition to the increase of need beyond their resources, many of these institutions had become degenerate and covetous, and neglected the poor

[1] See Chap. I.

dependent on them. Pestilence also lingered in the towns and broke out from time to time. Then, as now, there must have been a terrible contrast between the very poor and the great ones of the earth. Probably the conditions under which the poor lived were worse than now, for the standard of living and of physical comfort was, on the whole, so much lower. The nobles were given to excessive luxury and display, but, as far as we know, there was no particular ill-feeling against them; a certain generosity and their custom of keeping a more or less open house no doubt endeared them somewhat to the people.

Various attempts were made under Henry VI to remedy the decay of agriculture, but without much success. A statute was made forbidding any landholder who paid less than £20 a year to apprentice his children to a trade, but this was afterwards repealed for London, where it could hardly be carried out. In 1436 an attempt was made to keep corn plentiful and cheap in the country by prohibiting export unless the price had fallen to 6*s.* 8*d.* a quarter or less. The wages of the labourers were supposed to be fixed by the local Justices of the Peace according to the price of food, but this arrangement did not work well because the rate of wages was thus fixed by the employers exclusively, and they were not always disinterested in their action.

The Church, the other great mediæval institution, was failing in its temporal functions. It could no longer grapple with pauperism by the old methods, and it did not rise to the occasion either in this direction or in that of education. The monasteries resisted the

visitations of those responsible for their good discipline; monks deserted; their hospitality, which had hitherto been extended to all travellers, declined, and their place in this respect was taken more and more by the inns. Education was neglected, for many of the priests were illiterate, but as has been seen, the King did his best to remedy this. Too often the parish priests were men of low character and attainments, and were sometimes even given to brawling and assault. Pluralities also were a great evil, so that parishes were often entirely without ministry. The higher clergy were much absorbed in politics, to the neglect of their pastoral duties and the detriment of religion. Churchmen, originally because of their superior education, had always been accustomed to hold high offices of state, and in consequence the leaders of the Church tended to become worldly, proud and ambitious. A line of prelate politicians, such as Cardinal Beaufort, was produced, which reached its culmination in Cardinal Wolsey—men who were often wise and capable administrators, but who nevertheless cannot be described as ideal churchmen.

Moreover, the Church was bitterly intolerant. Lollardism, one of those premature movements heralding the Reformation, was still smouldering, and all through the reign of Henry VI the burning of Lollards occurred from time to time. In 1428 the order of the Council of 1415 was at length carried out, and Wycliffe's bones were disinterred from their grave at Lutterworth and burnt. The House of Lancaster prided itself on its orthodoxy, and Henry V was extolled because he

" to Lollers gave a fall." No freedom of thought nor any claim to personal judgment was tolerated. Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, the " most enlightened man of his age," was degraded and imprisoned for life even when he had recanted from the views which offended the Church. Toleration and breadth of view were alike unknown to the Church of that age.

The Baronage was arrogant, overweening, and given to enormous extravagance and display of wealth. With a few exceptions, they placed personal ambition and lust for power before the interests of their country. Moreover, they shared the lawlessness of the times and had no scruple in freely resorting to arms for the furtherance of their private quarrels. The reign was remarkable for these feuds. To quote a few instances: in the North the Nevilles and the Percies, in the West Devon and Bonville, and in Bedfordshire Grey and Fanhope carried on their private wars with total disregard to life and limb and the fate of the unfortunate inhabitants of the troubled districts. Naturally, if the great barons indulged in this conduct, the country gentlemen emulated them. Forcible entries into each other's houses were frequent, examples of which are shown in the *Paston Letters*. The Barons were too strong for a stable monarchy. They had accumulated enormous stretches of territory; the Earl of Warwick, for example, in addition to his immense roll of manors, held some thirteen castles—more than it was wise for any one subject to be entrusted with. The French wars, while slightly thinning their ranks, gave them a taste for warfare. Their natural following

of villeins having greatly diminished, they maintained huge companies of hired retainers, who wore the lord's livery and badge, and expected in return to have their rights maintained by him against their enemies. They even expected him to interfere in lawsuits in their favour, and hence the practice of "livery and maintenance" led to the destruction of justice and the disquieting of the peace. These companies of retainers, although largely recruited from the country gentlemen, also absorbed many disbanded soldiers and other wanderers who were unwilling to settle down to a peaceful occupation. Indeed in 1429 it became necessary to pass a statute against the reception of evildoers and lawless characters into the households of the lords. Owing to the great increase of their followings the Barons had enough to do to maintain discipline in their households, and on the other hand the Sheriffs had some difficulty in raising the proper levies for the King when necessary.

The navy, which has already been glanced at,[1] was most inadequate. It was not used in those days as a threat to other nations, but was a practical necessity to protect trading vessels, and even the very coasts of England, from the outrages of piracy. The state of affairs is set forth in the "Libell of English Policy," a political poem written about 1436, which is one long exhortation to—

> "Cherish merchandise, keep the admiralty,
> That we be masters of the narrow sea."[2]

[1] See above, pp. 134 and 135.

[2] Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 158.

Special complaints were made then of a pirate named Hankyne Lyons, and also of Breton pirates who had actually "robbed, burnt and slain" on the coast of Norfolk and put towns to ransom. It was also pointed out that it was in the interests of trade to keep the "narrow seas"—the Straits of Dover—for thus the great trading centre of Flanders would be cut off from Spain, Portugal, and the Italian merchants of Genoa, Venice and Florence. The Prussian merchants and the Hansards were in the same position, and even the Scots had to pass the English coasts. This was the more important because the overland routes were largely interfered with by the French War. Incidentally the writer expresses a contempt for the goods brought from Venice and Florence, being spices and wasteful trifles such as "apes and japes and marmusettes taylede," which took gold out of the country for no good purpose. These men also indulged in the disreputable occupation of money-lending.

It is also urged in this poem that the English should

> "take hede
> To kepe Irelond, that it be not loste;
> For it is a boterasse and a poste
> Under England, and Wales another."

Finally, after emphasizing the great importance of keeping Calais safe, the writer once more reiterates the urgency of keeping the sea—

> "Whiche of England is the rounde walle . . .
> As thoughe England were lykened to a cité
> And the walle environn were the see."

The country, however, was too distracted during this and succeeding reigns to give much attention to these exhortations, and it was not until the following century that the matter was really taken in hand.

At the head of this tottering state was an incompetent government whose ranks were filled by favouritism. Its hold upon the country had naturally been weakened by the evils of a long minority, a situation in which it was difficult for a body of men such as the Council to make their authority felt as efficiently as was the case when a responsible monarch was at the head of affairs. But when Henry came to rule the situation was even worse, for a king who was fitted pre-eminently to become a monk, absorbed in study and devotion, influenced in turn by every minister who secured a prominent position, and altogether under the sway of his impulsive young wife, could not hope to save his country or his crown.

Parliament, owing to the ease with which elections could be manipulated, was used as a party tool—a proceeding which was all the easier because when it came to a conflict the country seemed to have no decided opinion either way; either it did not know its own mind or was strangely apathetic. Occasionally Parliament did assert itself—for instance, when it obliged the King to resume the Crown lands—but Henry had a way of evading its mandates by asserting a right to make exceptions, or, in the case of condemnation of persons, claiming a right to pardon them according to his discretion. He was not, however, habitually high-handed in his dealings with it.

Over the Council he could have had absolute control, for from 1437 onwards he exclusively began to nominate it. Had he been self-assertive it would have been an instrument in his hands; it was used instead by the Queen and her friends for their own ends.

Although the people loved Henry at first for his gentleness and saintliness, yet they could not for ever forgive the misgovernment for which he was at least nominally responsible. Again, his retiring manners put him at a disadvantage in gaining popularity, and most of the towns—notably London—remained indifferent to his successes or disasters. It argues, however, a callousness in the country that a man of so saintly a character was allowed to come to so miserable an end. The fate of Jeanne d'Arc also shows the mingled superstition and ferocity of the times. It was indeed an age of violence, confusion and faithlessness, for it is noticeable with what frequency men changed sides in the struggle of the Civil War, and how they broke their most solemn oaths without any great outcry being raised.

Mediæval chivalry was dying out. The ornamental side survived for some time in gorgeous tournaments, but the changed methods of warfare had administered its death-blow, and its serious and valuable side vanished in the lax morality of the age.

In all directions mediæval ideals were giving way before modern ideas—not always a change for the better. Under the old system the price of an article had been determined by the cost of production; what was considered a reasonable charge being made, and

a fair wage allowed in proportion. Now for the first time the idea of competitive prices arose, and the old "just" price tended to disappear—also the suitable wage. Another contingency, which arose from the increase of trade and manufacture, was the necessity for borrowing capital. Usury had always been regarded as "l'orrible and abhominable vice," and it was considered a sinful thing to receive back more than had been lent, unless the lender had been put to serious inconvenience for want of the money and thus required some compensation. A change of opinion, however, had gradually crept in; the statute against usury was evaded in various ingenious ways, and gradually the odium attaching to the charging of interest on loans disappeared. Englishmen ventured to engage in a traffic hitherto left to the despised Jews and the Lombards.

At the same time a great idea of the value of money grew up, both as regards actual bullion, and also the possession of wealth. It was considered most undesirable to let gold go out of the country. The financiers of the time were possessed by the idea that exports and imports were actually paid for in money, and that, therefore, unless the exports—the things sold—exceeded the imports—the things bought—the country would be drained of its gold.

Moreover, it now became possible to rise socially by means of the acquisition of wealth. Hitherto noble birth and the possession of land had been the principal claim to respect, but now the successful trader or merchant could buy land and acquire social

standing. Owing to the great expensiveness of living amongst the nobles, they were sometimes even glad to marry the daughter of a rich merchant and thus fill their empty coffers. This in itself shows a certain breaking down of rigid class distinctions, and the introduction of a new feature in the rise of a middle class.

The great increase of leasehold tenure, which as we have seen was one of the results of the decay of the Feudal System, made possible the rise of a class of free, and for the most part prosperous farmers—the yeomanry—who became such a valuable part of the population. The terms of the leases tended to grow longer and longer, and thus the farmers became established upon their holdings. In the freer conditions of trade and industry outside the Gilds it was also possible for men to rise to a comfortable position more easily than had formerly been the case.

Indeed, the condition of the country was not without hopeful elements. Side by side with the agricultural depression was the flourishing cloth industry, which, being little hampered by the restrictions of a Gild, was developing in new directions. The selfish and exclusive policy of the Craft Gilds led to a certain scattering of industry, to escape from their control and find more favourable conditions for working. Eventually this even led to the rise of new towns and the decay of the old ones.

Many of the various processes of cloth-making were adapted to domestic industry, and this brought about great changes. Cloth-weaving could be done in the

home, either as the sole means of livelihood, or to eke out the profits of farming. The women of the household were able to do spinning and carding to supply the weavers. The numbers of people thus employed either sold their goods to a middleman, or were sometimes employed in large numbers by a capitalist, who sold the finished products, and was known as a "clothier." This new organisation of industry was just becoming general in the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1434 the Burgundian alliance with England was broken up, and the export of English cloth and wool to Flanders ceased. The industry, however, does not seem to have seriously suffered, for the export of cloth steadily increased, while that of wool correspondingly decreased, resulting, as we have noticed, in a fall in the produce of the wool duty. So highly was English cloth esteemed that Henry VI, when desiring the Pope to grant privileges to Eton, sent him a present of the best cloth of England.

As another consequence of the rise of the cloth manufacture, the Staplers, the ancient organization of merchants who dealt in wool and raw materials, having their market at Calais, began to decline. The great League of the Hansards was also losing some of its power and activity at this time, for it was engaged in a conflict with the Danes. Consequently a rival body, the Merchant Adventurers, began to supersede the older organizations, and now became important. The Merchant Adventurers, who dealt in cloth and manufactured goods, had their chief centre of trade at Antwerp. They were, moreover, a Regulated

Company, and therefore national in feeling rather than municipal, as the older merchants had been. Other new Merchant Companies also began to arise. These were at first confined to trading in stated articles of commerce; afterwards within definite limits without specification of goods, but later they obtained more freedom. The most noticeable of these was the Drapers Company, who held a weekly market for cloth in London. Thus a new field was being opened for those who had left agriculture and were unable to enter the ordinary Craft Gilds.

Measures were also taken to check the import of manufactured goods and encourage home industry; for instance in 1455 measures were taken to protect the trade in manufactured silk, and as a consequence the importation of silk by the Lombards and others from Italy was prohibited. The manufacture of silk was an industry which seems to have been largely in the hands of women.

It must not be forgotten either that this was the century of 'Perpendicular' Architecture, the last of the Gothic styles and the most exclusively English. To the prosperity of the cloth industry of this time many of the beautiful churches of this date in England must have been due.

The monasteries were neglecting their duties, but on every side other bodies were taking up their functions. The great interest taken by Henry VI in education, and the many educational establishments founded during his reign, has been noticed in another chapter. Grammar schools became general all over

the country, and in addition to this it was becoming far more common for Gilds, burgesses, and even rich individuals to found almshouses, hospitals and other public institutions. The laity were beginning to take upon themselves the functions which were let slip by the monks and the absentee parish priests.

Such was the general situation in England in the summer of 1450.

The insurrection of Cade, by its failure to secure the much-needed reforms for which the insurgents petitioned—for no attention was paid to the professed reception of Cade's Articles—caused men to turn still more towards the Duke of York in the hope of obtaining help from him against the continued bad government, and called fresh attention to his unfair exclusion from a voice in the affairs of the country. In this way the rebellion was a step further in the progress of events towards the Civil War.

At this juncture York—who is described as a short man, inclined to stoutness, with a somewhat square face [1]—took the sudden step of announcing his return from Ireland, leaving James, Earl of Ormond, in charge there. About the same time Henry made the fatal mistake of recalling Somerset from Calais, where he had taken refuge after his expulsion from Caen, and installing him in the place of Suffolk. This action shows an utter lack of comprehension of the country's feelings on the part of the King and Queen and their friends, for if Suffolk had been hated as the "traitor who sold away Maine," upon Somerset fell all the

[1] Oman, *Warwick the King-maker*, 41.

odium of the loss of Normandy. Yet Henry on 11 September appointed him Constable of England, and sent him on a commission to pacify Kent.

York, of course, had no right to throw up his command in Ireland, but his motives seem to have been solely to assert his right to a voice in the government for the purpose of combating the misrule of the King's favourites. "Alle the Kinges howshold was aferd ryght sore," [1] and such was the panic in the Council at the idea of his coming that orders were issued to arrest him on landing. York, however, reached Wales, evaded Stanley and Lisle, who had been sent to meet him, and collected a large body of men from the Welsh marches. He considered that the time had come to assert his right to a share in public affairs and to strike a blow at his enemy Somerset, and he therefore "sharpened as lightning his sword, and taking justice into his own hands" [2] proceeded towards London in the month of September 1450. At St. Albans York met with Sir Thomas Hoo, and bloodshed was with difficulty averted, but finally the Duke reached London without any actual disturbance. Upon being admitted to the King's presence he boldly complained of the resistance offered to his journey, whereupon Henry meekly apologized for wishing to arrest him, and promised that in future the Duke should have his due share in the government. York took the opportunity of emphasizing the necessity for reform in the administration of justice and for the banishment of "traitors." "Please

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 150, let. 113.
[2] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 161.

it your Highness," he said in his petition, "tenderly to consider the great grudging and rumour that is universally in this your realm of that justice is not duly ministered to such as trespass and offend against your laws, and especially of them that are indited of treason, . . . wherefore I, your humble subject and liegeman Richard, Duke of York, willing as effectually as I can, and desiring surety and prosperity of your most royal person and welfare of this your noble realm, counsel and advise your excellence . . . for to ordain and provide that due justice be had against all such that be so indited or openly so noised : wherein I offer, and will put me in devoir for to execute your commandments in these premises of such offenders, and redress of the said misrulers to my might and power." [1]

Having made his expostulation York retired to Fotheringay to await the opening of Parliament, while the King withdrew "summe men sey to Fysshwick [2] summe say to Bristowe," [3] and summoned all his attendants to accompany him at the opening of Parliament "in their best aray."

Parliament met in November, in an atmosphere of general uneasiness. The lords came up to London with large retinues, so that the houses were "hugely stuffed" [4] with people. Norfolk collected a large company to support York, John Paston being summoned among them, "with as many clenly people as ye may gete for

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 153, let. 114.
[2] Near Preston, Lancs.
[3] Bristol: *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), p. 157, let. 117.
[4] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 626.

oure worship at this tyme."[1] A serious struggle between York and Somerset was looked for.

The two rivals were indeed in a curious position. The King had been married five years and had no child, and since Gloucester's death it had hardly been clear who was the nearest heir to the throne. The three brothers of Henry V, the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester, had all died without leaving descendants. The only other Lancastrian family was that of John Beaufort, legitimatized son of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford. Beaufort's elder son John, Earl of Somerset, who died in 1444, had left an infant daughter Margaret,[2] while his brother and male heir was the present Edmund, Duke of Somerset. The heirship to the throne would therefore have devolved upon him, but Henry IV, although he legitimatized his half-brothers the Beauforts, took great pains to disqualify them and their descendants from inheriting the throne by an Act of Parliament of 1407. This statute would therefore have to be repealed before Somerset could be recognized as the heir-apparent. On the other hand, Richard of York was descended in direct legitimate male line from Edmund, younger brother of John of Gaunt, and, moreover, through his mother, was the heir of the elder brother of John of Gaunt—Lionel, Duke of Clarence—the claim of whose descendants had been passed over by Henry IV. The Beauforts had the Court on their side, but the people were beginning to turn to York in the hope that he

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 162, let. 121.

[2] It was this Margaret who became the mother of Henry VII.

would champion their cause for better government, and already his position was strong enough to be dangerous. The following gained by the Captain who took the name of Mortimer had ominously shown the trend of the people's feeling.

The House of Commons which assembled in November 1450 was strongly Yorkist in feeling, for York and his friends, justifying the complaints of Cade, had done their utmost to influence the elections.

"Right trusti and welbelovid," wrote Norfolk to John Paston, "we grete you well. And forasmoche as oure unkill of York and we have fully appoynted and agreed of such ij persones for to be knightes of the shire of Norffolk as oure said unkill and we thinke convenient and necessarie for the welfare of the said shire, we therefor pray you, in oure said unkill name and oures bothe, as ye list to stonde in the favour of oure good Lordshipp, that ye make no laboure contrarie to oure desire."[1]

The Commons duly elected Sir William Oldhall, one of York's followers, as speaker. Cardinal Kemp tried to divert their attention from party issues by pointing out the urgent need of sending reinforcements to hold Guienne, but his efforts were vain. Relations grew more and more strained. On 1 December a mob of Yorkists and Londoners assaulted Somerset, and he would have been killed had not the Earl of Devon succeeded in carrying him off in his barge. The mob consoled itself by plundering the Duke's lodgings at Blackfriars, and on the following day sacked those of

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 160, let. 119.

Sir Thomas Todenham, Sir Thomas Hoo, and Lord Hastings. On the 3rd, the King and his lords rode through the city in armour as a demonstration to promote order, after which Henry went to Greenwich to keep his birthday (6 December). On this occasion he created his half-brothers Edmund and Jasper Tudor Earls respectively of Richmond and Pembroke, and at the same time knighted Thomas and John Neville, younger sons of Salisbury, doubtless to please the Yorkists. The unfortunate King, however, was obliged after this function to borrow money to pay his expenses for Christmas.

During the Christmas recess Henry, fearing for his favourite, and also thinking that he saw a solution of the difficult situation, appointed Somerset Captain of Calais, evidently considering that he would be at a safe distance there. York he took with him into Kent to try the remainder of the insurgents. This time they were rigorously dealt with; "there were dampnyde many men" at Canterbury, and nine at Rochester; and "the same yere stode at ones xiii hedis on London brige"[1]—a sight which must have distressed the gentle Henry—wherefore, says the chronicler, "men calle hyt in Kente the harvyste of hedys."

But these expedients were of no use. In January 1451 Parliament returned to the charge with fresh zest and demanded the banishment of thirty of the Court favourites, including Somerset, the Duchess of Suffolk, Lords Dudley and Hastings, the Abbot of Gloucester (whom York had imprisoned on his way to

[1] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* (ed. Gairdner), 69.

London), and Daniel, Say and Trevilian, against whom Cade and his followers had petitioned. The King consented to dismiss some of them for a year, but little good came of it.

The Commons also demanded a fresh resumption of the Crown lands and possessions, pointing out that the King was £372,000 in debt, which was indeed serious, that his income was only £5000, whereas his household expenses amounted to £24,000 yearly. Therefore, they urged the King, it would be "to you full honourable, necessarie and behovefull, and to all youre Liege people comfortable" if, with a few exceptions, a full resumption was made.[1] Henry, who when previously asked to do this, had made an immense number of exceptions, was now prevailed upon to reduce these to about a third of the former amount, so that it is probable that his income was really increased by this action.

In May there was a fresh development; one of the members of Parliament committing a great indiscretion. Thomas Yonge of Bristol, "apprentice in law," petitioned that for the security of the realm Richard of York should be declared heir-apparent. This bold petition actually obtained a majority in the Commons but was opposed by the House of Lords. The King dissolved Parliament on 10 June, and the rash petitioner was, most unjustly, sent to the Tower.

Unrest continued. Devon and Bonville, after keeping the peace for several years, again flew to arms and caused a great disturbance in the west, for Devon laid siege to Bonville in the castle of Taunton and was only

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 219.

persuaded to desist by the intervention of the Duke of York. There was also a "riotous fellowship" in Norfolk. The King spent the summer in diligently and laboriously visiting the disturbed parts, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Northampton, Leicester and Coventry.

York meanwhile seems to have been making preparations for a fresh demonstration. In December he pledged some jewels to Sir John Fastolf, and in January 1452 he thought it well to issue a manifesto protesting his loyalty to the King, to counteract the slanders of his enemies. On 3 February he issued a manifesto from his castle of Ludlow to the men of Shrewsbury, frankly asking for their help to remove Somerset. "I signify unto you," he said, "that, with the help and supportation of Almighty God, and of Our Lady, and of all the Company of Heaven, I, after long sufferance and delays, though it is not my will or intent to displease my sovereign lord, seeing that the said Duke ever prevaileth and ruleth about the King's person, and that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him with the help of my kinsmen and friends." [1]

Accompanied by Devon and Cobham and the force thus raised, York set out for London. Henry, with more spirit than one would expect of him, summoned his lords and set out to meet the Duke, but the latter contrived to avoid him and marched on towards London. Instead of entering the city, however, he

[1] *Orig. Letters Illustrative of English History* (ed. Sir Henry Ellis), Ser. III. 11–13.

turned aside into Kent, crossing the river at Kingston, doubtless hoping that that turbulent county would give him support. He encamped at Dartford, whither the King followed him and on 1 March took up a position on Blackheath, between the Yorkists and London. Henry then opened negotiations, sending the Bishop of Ely, Richard Woodville, and Richard Andrew as envoys. He offered to pardon York and all his following for taking up arms if the Duke would make peace with his enemy and not attempt to avenge himself: he also promised that full justice should be done him for any injuries he might have received, if he would put rancour aside and depend upon the law to avenge his wrongs in a lawful way. York hesitated, feeling a difficulty in depending upon a king so easily influenced, and who probably would think that his injuries hardly came within the scope of the law, and he refused to disband his host unless Somerset were arrested and brought to judgment. He formally accused Somerset of the responsibility for the loss of Normandy, both by the breaking of the truce and afterwards by neglect of duty, and the surrender of towns without need; and also of being the cause of "grete hurte, robbery, manslauter, and other myscheves daily done and contynued in this youre roialme."[1]

After considerable discussion by the envoys of both sides, York was given to understand that his condition was accepted and that Somerset was to be committed to ward. Richard then at once dismissed his men and came to Henry's tent. But to his astonishment and

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), I. cxxii.

consternation he found Somerset still there in attendance on the King. Evidently he had been duped. Who was responsible for this breach of faith we do not know; perhaps the King's envoys acted without his full sanction, or Henry allowed himself to be overpersuaded by Margaret. York found himself in a most trying position, and was obliged to adopt a humble attitude; but he had been delivered into the hands of his adversary, and on their return to London he was made to ride before the King "like as he should have been put in holde."[1] Upon coming to St. Paul's he was compelled to take a solemn oath never again to call together any body of men without the King's commandment or licence, nor to do, or suffer any one else to do, anything against the King's estate, nor to commit any breach of the peace.[2] Having thus sworn he was set at liberty, for even Somerset dared not take strong measures against so dangerously popular a man.

Peace being outwardly restored, Henry spent the remainder of the year in making Royal progresses, in the summer through the South and West, and in the autumn through the Midlands.

Attention was further diverted from party quarrels at this moment by the critical state of affairs in France, an account of which has been given in the previous chapter.

Parliament met at Reading in March 1453, and being strongly Lancastrian in feeling reinstated Somerset and all his colleagues in office, while York, in the

[1] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), p. 163.

[2] For this oath see *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), I. cxvi–cxvii.

picturesque language of Abbot Whethampsted, "covering the little sparks of hatred under the ashes of dissimulation," [1] remained quiescent.

The Baronage, however, continued their turbulent ways unchecked. The Percies and the Nevilles caused great trouble in the North, so that on 27 July Salisbury was commanded to do his utmost to put down the assemblies and riotous gatherings of people with which his son John and others were harrying the peace of Yorkshire. Early in August the Percies received a similar exhortation to abstain from conduct which gave rise to "irreparable inconvenience." [2] In the same month, however, Sir Thomas Neville, brother of John, proceeded into Lincolnshire to celebrate his marriage with Maud Stanhope, the niece of Lord Cromwell; and on his way back, falling in with Egremont and his brother, members of the rival house of Percy, and being doubtless in an exalted frame of mind, he fell upon them at Castleton in Yorkshire and a pitched battle ensued. It was some time before peace was restored in the north, but at the beginning of October the Council was able to thank the Earl of Westmoreland and the Bishop of Durham [3] for their diligence in repressing unlawful gatherings. Finally letters were sent to the Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury reminding each of them that "at al tymes before this ye have be[en]holde a sadde, a sober, and a wel reuled man, as it sitteth you in al wyse to

[1] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 163.
[2] *Proc. of the Privy Council* (ed. Sir Harris Nicholas), vi. 149.
[3] Robert Neville, Salisbury's brother.

be," [1] and warning them that if they did not keep their families in order they should be "so chastised that bothe ye and thay and al other oure subgittes shal have matier and cause to eschewe to attempte anything like herafter." [2]

During this summer, probably about the second week in August, a fresh calamity overtook the unfortunate Henry. While at Clarendon, "by a sudden and thoughtless fright," [3] the King was seized with a strange malady, resembling that of his grandfather Charles VI of France, and for eighteen months "he was so lacking in understanding and memory and so incapable that he was neither able to walk upon his feet nor to lift up his head, nor well to move himself from the place where he was seated." [4] The unhappy King remained at Clarendon until the beginning of October, when he was moved by slow stages to Westminster, and later to Windsor.

But on 13 October a momentous event took place. On this day a son was born to Queen Margaret at Westminster and named Edward. The child was christened by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, Somerset and Cardinal Kemp being his godfathers, and the Duchess of Buckingham his godmother. Edward's birth occurred at an unfortunate juncture for Margaret, for, Henry being unable on account of his illness to give the child recognition, her enemies did not scruple

[1] *Proc. of the Privy Council* (ed. Sir Harris Nicholas), vi. 159.

[2] *Ibid.*, vi. 161.

[3] *Chron. Ang. de regnis trium regum Lanc.* (ed. J. A. Giles), pt. iv. 44.

[4] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 163.

to circulate slander, for which, however, there does not appear to have been the least ground.

The Queen managed to keep the affairs of government in abeyance until the next year. Public knowledge of the King's illness seems to have been vague, and doubtless it was hoped that he would quickly recover. The appointment of a "suitable Council" was promised in case of need, but for the present nothing was done.

In January 1454 an effort was made to get Henry to recognise his son. The infant, now three months old, was brought to Windsor, whither Henry had been removed, and "the Duc of Buk' toke hym in his armes and presented hym to the Kyng in godely wise, besechyng the Kyng to blisse hym; and the Kyng yave no maner answere. Natheless the Duk abode stille with the Prince by the Kyng; and whan he coude no maner answere have, the Queene come in, and toke the Prince in hir armes and presented hym in like forme as the Duke had done, desiryng that he shuld blisse it; but alle their labour was in veyne, for they departed thens without any answere or countenaunce savyng only that ones he loked on the Prince and caste doune his eyene ayen, without any more." [1]

The birth of this prince brought a great alteration in the political situation. York was no longer heir to the throne, and therefore no longer had the same right to interfere in the affairs of the country as when he was the first prince in the kingdom. If he had ambitions the Lancastrian dynasty now lay between

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 263, let. 195.

him and their fulfilment; he was obliged to pose solely as the champion of reform in the government on his own merits. In future the supporters of York's fitness either to be Henry's successor or supplanter had to contemplate the removal of the Lancastrian house—a revolution instead of an adjustment—and York could no longer claim the throne without treasonable rebellion. Moreover, in future Margaret had to be reckoned with as a mother, a capacity in which she developed new and unsuspected qualities.

CHAPTER VII

1454–1458 : YORK'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOMERSET AND THE KING'S SECOND ILLNESS

THE only tenable position for the Duke of York in this changed situation was to take up the attitude of leader of the party determined on administrative reform for the true good of the country. There was now a life between him and the succession to the Crown, and we may believe that at this period he put the hope of ruling far from him and devoted himself to disinterested efforts.

At first it seemed as though his task would be easy, for Somerset without the King's support behind him was helpless, and the King was at present without the use of his faculties. As early as November 1453 York's faithful ally, the Duke of Norfolk, had demanded the impeachment of Somerset, on the grounds that the final loss of Guienne that summer had supplied a justification of the former charges against him. Norfolk made an earnest appeal to the Council for true and impartial judgment of the case, pointing out that Somerset's offences were so serious that "for any favour of lineage nor for any other cause there should be no dissimulation . . . lest that others in time coming take example thereof, and lest that the

full noble virtue of justice, that of God is so greatly recommended, be extinct or quenched by the false opinions of some, that, for the great bribes that the said Duke of Somerset hath promised and given them, have turned their hearts from the way of truth and justice, some saying that the cases by him committed be but cases of trespass. Whereof every man that is true to the said Crown ought greatly to marvel, that any man would say that the loss of two so noble duchies as Normandy and Guienne, that be well worth a great royaume, coming by succession of fathers and mothers to the said Crown, is but trespass." [1] Accordingly about the end of November the accused was committed to the Tower to await trial, and there he remained for more than a year, while his master's illness dragged its slow course.

The Parliament which met in the autumn of 1453 had been prorogued by Margaret until the following February, in the hopes that the King would recover, but as poor Henry showed no signs of doing so it became evident that something must be done. In January 1454, therefore, Margaret put forward the demand that the government of the country should be entrusted to her, that she should have power to appoint the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Privy Seal, and other officials, including the sheriffs, who were usually appointed by the King, and also that she should be permitted to nominate holders of Bishoprics and all other benefices in the King's gift. The Council however, quietly put aside these requests; the Queen

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 260, let. 191.

had so identified herself with Somerset and his party that she probably shared some of his unpopularity.

Meanwhile the Lords, foreseeing a struggle, were busily collecting and arming their retainers. Even the old Archbishop Kemp "charged and commaunded alle his servaunty to be redy." [1] The Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Bonville called for recruits in the West at the wage of 6*d.* a day. Exeter swore alliance with Egremont, the hereditary foe of the Nevilles, and, with the Lords Beaumont, Clifford and Poynings, "made all the puissance they could." The Duke of Buckingham lavishly ordered 2000 of his badges, "to what entent men may construe as their wittes yeve theym." [2] The Lancastrian courtiers begged the Lords to provide a garrison at Windsor to guard the King and Prince. York, with his little son the Earl of March, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, came up to London towards the end of January, each bringing an immense retinue; Salisbury with 140 knights and squires besides other attendants, Warwick with a thousand men besides his immediate household accompanying him. Somerset, in spite of the fact that he was imprisoned, is said to have had disguised spies in every great household.

The Mayor, anxious to preserve the peace, ordered that "waytes" or watchmen should perambulate the streets every night with minstrels, to keep the citizens in good humour and prevent robbery.[3] The Londoners for their part, being desirous of ingrati-

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 264, let. 195. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, 290.

ating themselves with both sides, paid ceremonious visits, clad in their scarlet gowns, to both York and the Queen.[1]

On 13 February Parliament was opened by York as the King's Lieutenant, and nothing but his wise moderation prevented an outbreak of actual hostilities. He discreetly assented to the proposal that the infant Edward should be created Prince of Wales, and was present when this was accomplished on 15 March.

On the same day the Council agreed to the appointment of John Arundell, John Faceby and William Hatclyff, physicians, and Robert Wareyn and John Marchall, surgeons, to wait upon the King for his health. They were fully empowered to moderate his diet according to their discretion, to freely administer powders, waters, potions, syrups, confections and laxative medicines, in whatever form they pleased and to treat the unfortunate Henry with injections, pills, purges, gargles, baths, poultices, fomentations, embrocations, shaving of the head, anointing, and cupping, as they thought desirable.[2] According to a writer of the time the King showed some slight signs of being relieved, but the improvement was not sustained.

On 23 March a deputation, consisting of the Bishops of Winchester, Ely and Chester, the Earls of Warwick, Oxford and Shrewsbury, Viscounts Beaumont and Bourchier, the Prior of St. John's, and Lords Fauconberg, Dudley and Stourton, was sent to Windsor to

[1] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, 291.
[2] *Proc. of the Privy Council* (ed. Sir Harris Nicholas), vi. 166–7.

see if the King could be got to reply to certain questions on affairs of state. The last hopes of the Lancastrian party were, however, frustrated, as appears in the long account of the visit entered upon the Rolls of Parliament. On 25 March the Bishop of Winchester reported to the Council on behalf of the deputation that on 23 March they were "at the King's high presence and in the place where he dined; and anon after his dinner was done the said matters were opened and declared by the mouth of the Bishop of Chester, right cunningly, sadly and worshipfully. . . . And then, forasmuch as it liked not the King's Highness to give any answer to the Articles, the said Bishop of Chester by the advice of all the other Lords declared and opened to the King's Highness the other matters contained in the said instruction; to the which matters, nor to any of them, they could get no answer nor sign, for no prayer nor desire, lamentable cheer nor exhortation, nor anything that they or any of them could do or say, to their great sorrow and discomfort. And then the Bishop of Winchester said to the King's Highness that the Lords had not dined, but they should go dine them and wait upon his Highness again after dinner. And so after dinner they came to the King's Highness in the same place where they were before; and there they moved and stirred him by all the ways and means that they could think to have answer of the matters aforesaid, but they could have none; and from that place they willed the King's Highness to go into another chamber, and so he was led between two men

into the chamber where he lieth; and there the Lords moved and stirred the King's Highness the third time, by all the means and ways that they could think, to have answer of the said matters, and also desired to have knowledge of him if it should like his Highness that they should wait upon him any longer and to have answer at his leisure, but they could have no answer, word nor sign; and therefore with sorrowful hearts came their way." [1]

With poor Henry in this sad condition there was nothing for it but to appoint a provisional Government, and accordingly on 27 March Richard of York was appointed Protector and Defender of the Realm, until Prince Edward should be of age—a position similar to that of Gloucester during Henry's minority. York was extremely careful to have his position exactly defined, but when once established he lost no time in strengthening his ministry. On 22 March the Chancellor—the Cardinal Archbishop Kemp—had died, thus leaving two great offices vacant. The post of Chancellor was filled by Salisbury, Richard's brother-in-law, and Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, who was also connected with York,[2] was raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. At the same time Salisbury's eldest son, the young Richard of Warwick, was made a Privy Councillor.

This Richard Neville the younger, who was destined to become the most powerful man in England, now

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 241.

[2] His brother, Lord Bourchier, was married to York's sister Isabella.

came to the fore for the first time. Coming of age in the critical year of 1449, he was in that year also created Earl of Warwick. Richard Beauchamp, the old Earl of Warwick, tutor to the King, had died in 1439, leaving two children by his second wife[1]—Henry, who had been brought up with the young King, and Anne, who was the wife of Richard Neville the younger. Henry Beauchamp, whom the King had much favoured, creating him Duke of Warwick and Lord of the Isle of Wight, died in 1446, in his twenty-third year, leaving an infant daughter Anne, who followed her young father to the grave in 1449. The Earldom of Warwick thus devolved upon Henry Beauchamp's sister Anne, and her husband Richard Neville, and to the latter the great Beauchamp estates were unwillingly delivered by Suffolk, who had been guardian of the infant Anne. Thus the young Richard became "Premier Earl of England," and holder of rich and widespread lands, situated principally in the West. Ten great castles[2] and fifty manors in Hereford and the marches of Wales acknowledged his lordship; he held also lands in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester —with the castle of Elmley—Oxford, Buckingham and Warwick—with its princely castle at Warwick—and scattered manors all over the South and Midlands, while in the North he had Barnard Castle on the Tees.

But to understand his position fully it is necessary

[1] He had two daughters by his first wife, but after Henry's death they were not joint heirs with Anne to the Earldom, because she was Henry's nearest heir, and they were only his halfsisters.

[2] Cardiff, Neath, Caerphilly, Llantrussant, Sayntweonard, Ewyas Lacy, Castle Dinas, Snodhill, Whitchurch and Maud's Castle.

to examine into the standing of his family. The House of Neville in the North by a series of judicious marriages had built up for themselves a position of power outrivalling that of their neighbours the Percies, Lords of Northumberland. Ralph Neville of Raby, young Richard's grandfather, was created Earl of Westmoreland (in which county, as it happened, he had no lands) for his services to Henry IV. He married twice and had in all twenty-three children. Dying in 1425, he left the family seat of Raby and the surrounding estates in Durham to the children of his first wife, the Earldom passing to his grandson Ralph, for his eldest son John had predeceased him. But his broad Yorkshire lands, including the strong castles of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton, he left to his second wife Joan Beaufort, who naturally bequeathed them to her own children. This division became the cause of much dissension in the House of Neville between the children of the first and second wives, and subsequently the elder family supported the House of Lancaster, while the younger formed the backbone of the Yorkist party. Joan Beaufort, Countess of Westmoreland, had a remarkable family, and an unrivalled success in making matrimonial arrangements for them. Richard Neville, the eldest son, father of Richard of Warwick, had married Alice, daughter and heiress of that Earl of Salisbury who perished by the hand of the master-gunner's son before Orleans, and Neville thus became Earl of Salisbury in 1429. The lands of his Earldom lay chiefly in the South, in Wiltshire and Hampshire, including the

castles of Christchurch and Trowbridge, but they were scarcely as important as his mother's Yorkshire lands, which he inherited in 1440.

William, Joan's second son, also married an heiress and became Lord Fauconberg. George, the third son, inherited the Lordship of Latimer from an uncle. Robert was the son in the Church, and while yet young was manœuvred into the Bishopric of Salisbury, and eventually attained to the see of Durham—a position quite equal to that of an Earl, since the Bishop of Durham was also Count Palatine. Edward, the youngest son, became Lord Abergavenny by marriage with Elizabeth Beauchamp, the stepdaughter of the old Earl of Warwick. Joan's daughters did even better. Three of them married respectively John, Duke of Norfolk, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland;[1] while Cecily, the youngest, the "Rose of Raby," married Richard of York and became the mother of kings.

Richard Neville the younger was the eldest son of Richard of Salisbury. His sister, as we have seen, was the wife of Henry, Duke of Warwick, his brother George became Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards Archbishop of York, and his brother John, considerably later, in 1461, was created Lord Montagu. The third brother, Sir Thomas Neville, seems to have been chiefly distinguished by the fracas which attended the return from his wedding.

Thus it may be seen that at a time when the lay

[1] Norfolk was a strong Yorkist, but Buckingham was Lancastrian, while Percy's opinions were unstable.

peerage of England only numbered between thirty and forty the Nevilles were able to wield a powerful influence.

Richard of York's early connection with the family we have already noticed.[1] Salisbury, his brother-in-law, was his unwavering friend, fought for him and died with him. Young Richard of Warwick also, inseparable from his father, loyally supported York—as did his brothers—although in the days when he came to sway the fortunes of the Crown and earned his title of king-maker he was not so loyal to York's son. Warwick, moreover, had the advantage—one which he never forfeited—of being immensely popular. He had the gift of winning men's hearts by his open and gracious manner, "for his wit was so ready and his behaviour so courteous that he was wonderfully beloved of the people,"[2] and he lived up to the people's idea of a great baron by his generosity, kindliness and the lavish hospitality and display usual to one of his position. Salisbury was "equal to him in virtue but not so well beloved."[3]

York administered his office of Protector in 1454 with wisdom and capacity. It must have been a considerable achievement under the circumstances to keep the peace, but with great discretion he refrained from taking steps against any of his enemies; even Somerset was permitted to remain quietly in the Tower

[1] See above, p. 41.

[2] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), p. 94.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

without being brought to trial. Margaret seems to have caused him very little trouble at this time; probably she was fully occupied with the cares of an infant and a sick husband. York's time was chiefly taken up with strenuous efforts to reduce the realm to order. Disturbances in the North had continued, and in May Northumberland, Exeter, Lord Roos and various others were commanded to appear before the Council. Egremont and Exeter, however, were not so easily suppressed, and it was not until York himself went north at the end of the month to deal with the disturbance, and later imprisoned the turbulent Duke of Exeter in Pontefract Castle, that peace was restored. The Protector reached York by the end of May, for on the 29th he wrote from there a letter to his little sons Edward of March (afterwards Edward IV) and Edmund of Rutland, at Ludlow, to which they replied in the following terms: Edward was twelve and Edmund a year or two younger—

"Right high and mighty Prince, our most worshipful and greatly redoubted lord and Father, in as lowly wise as any sons can or may we recommend us unto your good lordship. And please it your highness to wit that we have received your worshipful letters yesterday by your servant William Cleton, bearing date at York the 29th day of May, by the which William and by the relation of John Milewatier we conceive your worshipful and victorious speed against your enemies, to their great shame, and to us the most comfortable tidings that we desired to hear. . . . And

if it please your highness to know of our welfare, at the making of this letter we were in good health of bodies, thanked be God; beseeching your good and gracious Fatherhood of your daily blessing. And where ye command us by your said letters to attend specially to our learning in our young age that should cause us to grow to honour and worship in our old age, Please it your highness to wit that we have attended our learning since we came hither, and shall hereafter; by the which we trust to God your gracious lordship and good Fatherhood shall be pleased. Also we beseech your good lordship that it may please you to send us Harry Lovedeyne, groom of your kitchen, whose service is to us right agreable; and we will send you John Boyes to wait on your Lordship. Right high and mighty Prince, our most worshipful and greatly redoubted lord and Father, We beseech Almighty God give you as good life and long as your own Princely heart can best desire. Written at your Castle of Ludlow the 3rd day of June.

"Your humble sons

"E. March.

"E. Rutland."[1]

York's two sons, the Earl of March and Earl of Rutland, continued at Ludlow Castle. York himself remained in the North until about the end of June, for, wrote Botoner to John Paston, "As to my Lord Yorke, he abydyth aboute Yorke tille Corpus Crist Feste[2] be passyd, and wyth grete worship ys

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), Introd. clxix–clxx. [2] 20 June.

there resseyved." [1] He returned to London about the beginning of July.

In the West he insured peace between the quarrelsome lords of Devon and Bonville by imprisoning the Earl of Devon—a fate which he fully deserved.

York's attention was also called to naval affairs. In this year a French fleet attacked the Channel Isles, but was beaten off by the men of Jersey and Guernsey with a loss of 500 killed or captured. Five lords were appointed to keep the sea, and the Mayor of Bristol gave a patriotic example by building a fine vessel for service in the war.

But, unfortunately for the peace of the realm, at the end of the year 1454, when York's government was getting well under way, Henry's health began to show signs of amendment, and about Christmas time he entirely recovered, returning to his senses "as a man who wakes after a long dream." [2] On 27 December he was able to command his almoner to ride to Canterbury with an offering, and at the same time sent his secretary with a gift to the shrine of St. Edward. "And on the Moneday after noon [3] the Queen came to him, and brought my Lord Prynce with her." (He was by that time fourteen months old and had never been recognized by his father.) "And then he asked what the Prince's name was, and the Queen told him Edward; and than he hild up his hands and thankid God therof. And he seid he never knew til that tyme,

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 290, let. 206.
[2] L. Lallement, *Marguerite d'Anjou-Lorraine*, 7.
[3] 30 December.

nor wist not what was seid to him, nor wist not where he had be whils he had be seke til now. And he askid who was godfaders, and the Queen told him, and he was wel apaid. And she told him that the Cardinal [1] was dede, and he said he knew never thereof til that tyme; and he seid oon of the wisist Lords in this land was dede." [2]

On 7 January the Bishop of Winchester—his friend William Waynflete—and the Prior of St. John's visited him, "and he speke to hem as well as ever he did; and when thei come out thei wept for joye."

"And he seith," concludes John Paston's cousin, "he is in charitee with all the world, and so he wold all the Lords were." [3] Henry had good cause to wish it.

York, of course, at once resigned the Protectorship, but, with the King once more able to attend to affairs of state, a violent reaction against the Yorkists set in, and the Lancastrians had it all their own way. Richard's work, which had it been suffered to continue might have averted civil war, was completely undone, and a return was made to the former state of incompetent rule by unpopular favourites. Somerset was released from the Tower and declared by Henry to be his true and faithful liegeman, thus saving him from the necessity of answering the charges to be brought against him; which caused great discontent among all estates of the realm. As a further mark of favour the Captaincy of Calais, which had been held by York

[1] Kemp, who had died in March.

[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 315, let. 226. [3] *Ibid.*

since the previous July, was taken from that Duke and restored to Somerset. Salisbury was relieved of the Chancellorship, which was conferred upon Archbishop Bourchier, who was a somewhat wavering Yorkist. The lawless lords of Exeter and Devon were once more set at liberty.

In May Margaret and Somerset, who were as rash as York had been prudent, and who seemed entirely unable to see the danger of driving the Yorkists to desperation, called a Council at Leicester for the ominous purpose of "providing for the safety of the King's person against his enemies," to which they pointedly omitted to summon York, Salisbury and Warwick.[1] These three lords and kinsmen, when the trend of affairs against them had become obvious, had retired to their Yorkshire estates; but upon this threatening action on the part of the Lancastrians, Salisbury hastened from Middleham to Sandal to confer with York at that castle. York was now in a critical position. Lawful and constitutional methods of removing Somerset had been tried and had failed through the blind and misguided partisanship of the King and Queen. More than that, the reinstallation of Somerset at the head of affairs threatened the personal safety of York, for he was evidently bent upon vengeance. He also had a very just personal grievance in the systematic and determined policy of the Court party in excluding him from the government.

York and his friends appear to have been perfectly honest in their desire for the welfare of the kingdom

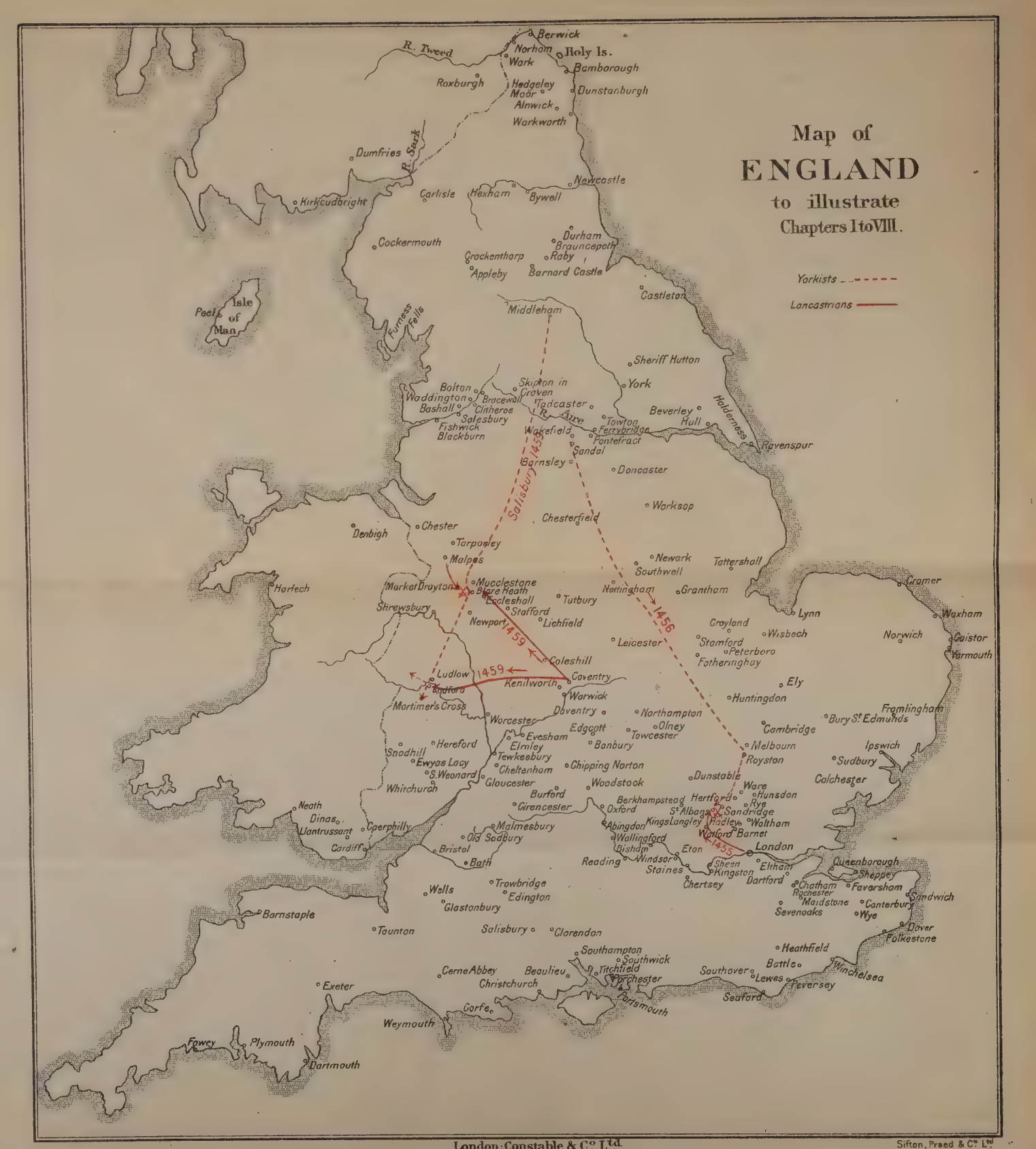
[1] Oman, *Warwick the King-maker*, 50.

and in their loyalty to King Henry, but it now seemed clear to them that it was necessary to save the King from his friends at all costs. Either the country must continue to groan under the misgovernment of the favourite, and York must be content impotently to watch its course—if indeed, worse did not befall him—or the policy of force which had been attempted in a half-hearted manner in 1452, must be carried through to completion, and, with all due respect to the King, Somerset must be removed for the good of King and country, whether Henry liked it or not. The desperate position into which the Yorkists found themselves driven by the uncompromising action of the Court party almost forced them to adopt the latter course.

Having arrived at this momentous decision, the three Richards called out all their tenants in the North and rapidly prepared for hostilities. The King's person or sovereignty was not aimed at; Warwick and Salisbury were true and disinterested patriots, and we may well believe that at this stage Richard was also.

The universal view seems to have been that Henry was a simple and upright man with no ill in himself, but grievously misled by his ministers, and in particular by the unpopular Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. Nevertheless it must be observed that York, by the action that he now took, was directly violating his oath of 1452 "never to take upon him to gather any routs or make any assembly of people without the King's commandment or licence [1]; " unless, indeed, he stretched a point and considered the present gathering

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. cxvi–cxvii.



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necessary for his "lawful defence." According to Abbot Whethamstede he obtained absolution from his oath from the Pope.

Thus began the civil war known as the Wars of the Roses.[1]

About the middle of May 1455 York and Salisbury set out on their march south. Warwick and his men joined them on the way, but the Duke of Norfolk in East Anglia had not yet got his forces together. Somerset lost no time in summoning his followers to Leicester, but in London, where he was with the King, he was only able to gather between two and three thousand men. His little army included his son Dorset, the Duke of Buckingham and his son Stafford, Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Courtenay, Earl of Devon,[2] Jasper of Pembroke and James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond,[3] with the Lords Clifford, Dudley and Roos. York had only as yet been joined by Lord Clinton, but his army numbered about three thousand men.

On 20 May the Yorkists reached Royston and there issued a manifesto explaining their position, addressed to the Chancellor-Archbishop (Bourchier).

"For so much as we hear that a great rumour and

[1] The name is hardly correct. The badge of York was a white rose, but the red rose was the mark of the House of Tudor and did not appear until 1485.

[2] Devon had lately become a Lancastrian, probably because York had dared to imprison him. His enemy Bonville thereupon found it necessary to become a Yorkist.

[3] This Earl had been left in charge of Ireland by York in 1450, but had since come over to England and had won great favour with the Queen.

wonder is had of our coming, and of the manner thereof, toward the most noble presence of the King our most (re)doubted sovereign Lord, and that by divers persons such as of approved experience have not put them in such devoir that might have advanced the honour and prosperity of him of this his noble realm and his people of the same, as accorded with their truth and duty, many doubts and ambiguities be thrown to his Majesty Royal, and among the people, of our truth and duty unto his Highness: We having consideration unto the office of the head of Justice of this land that ye occupy, notify unto your worthy Fatherhood and Cousinage that of our said coming nor of the manner thereof we intend not with God's grace to proceed to any matter or thing other than with God's mercy shall be to his pleasure, the honour, prosperity and weal of our said Sovereign Lord, his said land and people. Always keeping our troth to his said Highness unspotted and unbruised, intending to draw directly together with you and all other Lords of this land that be of such tender zeal and affection to the honour, prosperity and weal of our said Sovereign Lord, his said realm and people . . . to the profit and uncoloured grounds and conclusions of such things as of reason must most speedily grow to the said honour and weal . . . without anything taking or presuming upon ourself without the advice and assent of you and of the said Lords." They also pointed out that the composition of the Council at Leicester implied "a mistrust to some persons," and they came to know who these persons might be, and "to remove the ambiguity

Photo, William E. Gray

HENRY VI
Royal Collection at Windsor

and the occasion of the same mistrust," an armed force being necessary " to keep ourselves out of the danger whereunto our said enemies have not ceased to study, labour and compass to bring us."

This document they desired the Archbishop to lay before the King. On the following day, 21 May, they came to Ware, and from that town despatched a letter directly to the King, in which they humbly but frankly informed Henry that they were coming to remove from his presence their " enemies of approved experience, such as abide and keep themselves under the wing of your Royal Majesty "; at the same time beseeching him not to give credit to the " sinister, malicious and fraudulent labours and reports " of these persons; after which they subscribed themselves as the King's " most humble and lowly subjects and liegemen." [1] Neither of these communications, however, reached Henry as intended, for they were intercepted by Somerset and kept from him : the King was therefore without any true statement as to the intentions of the Yorkists.

Somerset and the King left London with their army on 21 May, and slept that night at Watford. They were, however, early astir, for before seven on the following morning they appear to have reached St. Albans, six miles away. Hearing that York was close at hand, they took up their position in that town and awaited his arrival. Richard posted his army in the Key Field, just outside the town ditch on the east, and there remained quietly from seven until ten. Meanwhile

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 326, let. 238.

a parley took place. The Duke of Buckingham, who was Salisbury's brother-in-law, was sent from the King's side to inquire the intentions of the Yorkists, whereupon the three Richards returned answer that they were the King's faithful subjects and liegemen and that their intent was "rightful and true," but they requested that it should please the King "to delyvere such as we wole accuse . . . and we wyll not now cesse for noon such promysse, Surete, ne other" (as that of 1452) "tyl we have hem whych hav deserved deth, or elles we to dye there fore." [1]

Henry, touched in his friendship for Somerset by this declaration, was for once roused to a pitch of indignation most unusual to his gentle nature. "I, King Harry," he replied, "charge and command that no manner of person, of what degree, or state, or condition that ever he be, abide not, but void the field and not be so hardy (as) to make any resistance against me in mine own realm; for I shall know what traitor dare be so bold to raise a people in mine own land, where through I am in great disease and heaviness. And by the faith that I owe to St. Edward and to the Crown of England, I shall destroy them every mother's son; and they (shall) be hanged and drawn and quartered that may be taken afterward, of them to have example to all such traitors to beware to make any such rising of people within my land, and so traitorly to abide their King and governor. And, for a conclusion, rather than they shall have any Lord here with me at this time, I shall this day, for their sake

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 328, let. 239.

and in this quarrel myself live or die." [1] York then harangued his men and between eleven and twelve in the morning opened the attack.

Henry's army was posted all up the long street which runs from St. Peter's Church down the steep slope of Holywell Hill to the little river Ver at the bottom, with the standard "set up" in the broad open space in St. Peter's Street (now used for the market). This street was then approached from the East by Sopwell Lane (the old London Road) and Butt's Lane (now Victoria Street), and along these York led his first attack; [2] but Lord Clifford held the barriers so strongly that he was unable to break through. But young Warwick, seizing upon a fresh plan, "took and gathered his men together and furiously broke in by the garden sides between the sign of the Key [3] and the sign of the Chequer [4] in Holwell Street; and anon as they were within the town, suddenly they blew up trumpets and set a cry with a shout and a great voice, 'A Warwick! A Warwick! A Warwick!'" [5] The King's line was pierced in the centre, and for a short time "so strongly were they opposed" that, according to Abbot Whethamstede, "here you saw one fall with his brains dashed out, there another with a broken arm, a third

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 328, let. 239.

[2] As he is said to have attacked in "thre diverse places," the third would be probably at the bottom of the hill, or at the top by Cock Lane, now Hatfield Road.

[3] Now the "Cross Keys."

[4] The inn is now the "Queen's Hotel," but the street is called Chequer Street at this part.

[5] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 330 let. 239.

with a cut throat, and a fourth with a pierced chest, and the whole street was full of dead corpses." [1] Soon, however, a panic seized the King's men; Sir Philip Wentworth cast down the Royal Standard and fled, the Earl of Wiltshire followed his example, with five hundred men, the King's household "disliking the sight of blood, withdrew," [2] the men-at-arms took to flight, "running through gardens and fields, brambles and bushes, hedges and woods, seeking a hiding-place . . . wherefore the tempest of battle entirely ceased." [3] The obnoxious Somerset himself was slain on the threshold of the Castle Inn; the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Clifford shared his fate; Buckingham was wounded in the face and took sanctuary in the Abbey; Dorset, Somerset's son, was also "sore hurt that he might not go, but he was caryede hom in a cart." [4] Henry, deserted by his men, was left standing by his banner amid a storm of arrows, one of which wounded him in the neck. At length the few who remained persuaded him to take refuge in "the little house of a tanner," [5] where he was presently sought out by York, Warwick and Salisbury, who "on their knees besought him of grace and forgiveness . . . and therefore the King our Sovereign Lord took them to grace, and so desired them to cease their people and that there should no more harm be done." [6] York, with considerable want of tact, bade Henry rejoice that

[1] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls. Ser.), 168.
[2] *Ibid.*, 169. [3] *Ibid.*, 168.
[4] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 331, let. 239.
[5] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 169.
[6] *Paston Letters*, i. 331, let. 239.

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Somerset was destroyed, which can hardly have been pleasant news to him. Afterwards the Duke took him with all reverence to the Abbey, where the Abbot was in great distress of mind, for the victorious Yorkists were fiercely sacking and pillaging the town and he feared lest his monastery should share the same fate.

Meanwhile corpses lay at the head of every street, and no one dared to touch them until Abbot Whethamstede approached York on the subject. Somerset, Northumberland and Clifford were then buried in the Lady Chapel of the Abbey, but no trace of their tombs now remains.

On the following day the Duke of Norfolk joined the Yorkists with six thousand men, and the King was escorted to London and lodged in the Bishop's Palace, where York waited upon him during Whitsuntide, remaining in London until the middle of June.

Henry's wound evidently gave him some trouble, for on 5 June the King wrote the following letter from Westminster to Gilbert Kemer or Kymer,[1] Dean of Salisbury—

" Trusty and welbeloved, we greet you wel.

" And for as moche as we be occupied and laboured, as ye knowe wel, with sicknesse and infirmities, of the whiche to be delivered and cured, by the Grace of our Lord, us nedeth the Helpe, Entendance, and Laboure of suche expert, notable, and proved men in the Crafte of Medicines, as ye be, in whom, among alle other, oure affection and desire right especially is sette.

[1] Gilbert Kymer had been physician to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

"We desire, wille and hertily pray you that ye be with us at oure Castell of Wyndesore the 12th day of this moneth, and entende upon oure persone for the cause abovesaid, and that ye faille not as oure singule Trust is in you and as ye desire and tendre of our Helth and welfare." [1]

York, as when formerly in power, did not take vengeance on his foes; Buckingham submitted himself, Dudley was imprisoned, and the young Dorset committed to the charge of Warwick, but no one else was interfered with. A Yorkist ministry, as was to be expected, was immediately formed; Richard was given—or probably chose—the office of Constable of England, his brother-in-law Lord Bourchier was made Treasurer, Warwick became Captain of Calais, and Salisbury Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: Thomas Bourchier, the Archbishop, who now became more decidedly Yorkist, remained Chancellor. The feeling of unrest, however, continued. On the eve of Corpus Christi [2] a rumour arose that three men had attempted "to have steked (stabbed) the Deuk York in the Kynges chamber," whereupon every one flew to arms, and "moche adoo there was," [3] but the men succeeded in clearing themselves and quiet was restored.

Soon after this the King, Queen and Prince removed to Hertford; York, evidently to be near at hand, went to the Friars at Ware; Salisbury retired to Rye,[4]

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi. 366. [2] 14 June.

[3] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 336, let. 243.

[4] Probably the village of Rye on the Essex border, as it would be near by.

and Warwick to Hunsdon, where they awaited the opening of Parliament.

Parliament was summoned for 9 July and the lords were bidden to attend "mesurably accompaignied accordyng to their estate with their household mayney and noon otherwise." [1] The young Earl of Northumberland, whose father had perished at St. Albans, was excused from attending because the Scots were harrying Berwick, and he was thus occupied in "resisting the malice of the King's enemies." [2]

The Yorkists were most anxious to avoid blame for the bloodshed of St. Albans, and the point was a very delicate one. On 17 July "there was langage betwene my Lordes of Warrewikke and Cromwell afore the Kyng" [3] on the subject, and such was the tension of feeling that the Yorkists went about "in harnes with strong wepons," and "stuffed their Lordes barges full of wepon dayly unto Westminster," [4] until the King at length made a proclamation that no one was to bear arms. Finally, to pacify the Yorkists and to avoid fresh strife, the blame for the unfortunate incident of the battle was thrown upon Somerset, the speaker Thorpe, and William Josep; Somerset, they reflected, being past injury or resentment. Every one else received an amnesty, "and nothing done there never after this time to be spoken of; to the which bill many a man grudged full sore." [5] All the Lords took a fresh

[1] *Proc. of the Privy Council* (ed. Sir Harris Nicholas), VI. xxvii. 244.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxviii. 248.

[3] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 345, let. 253.

[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

oath of allegiance, and the King, who had at length received the letters of 20 and 21 May declared his faith in the loyalty of the three Richards. About this time he presented to Salisbury "a bicoket [1] garnisshed and gilt, ij saletts [2] garnished and not gilt, ij peire of briganders [3] coveret with velvet set with gilt nailes, and a gowne of velvet," with other "harness," which had belonged to Lord Camoys.[4]

A rather curious step taken by this Parliament was to clear the memory of the Duke of Gloucester, who had come to his end eight years before, with the suspicion of treason resting upon him. A public declaration was now tardily made of his loyalty and innocence, or—as Whethamstede said—that satellites of Satan had made groundless charges against him.[5]

Thus the only apparent result of the battle of St. Albans was a peaceful change of ministry; but in spite of the removal of Somerset the position of affairs was not in reality improved. Margaret's position was momentarily weakened, but, bloodshed having once been resorted to, the bitterness between the rival parties was immensely deepened, and their hatred was increased by the foundation of a blood feud which added an element of ferocity to the strife—the example of the Cliffords being particularly noticeable. Both sides must have felt that they were as far as ever from a durable peace.

[1] A "cap of estate." [2] Head-pieces.

[3] A brigandine was a coat of flexible armour. When back and front were separate it was called a pair of brigandines.

[4] *Proc. of the Privy Council* (ed. Sir Harris Nicholas), vi. 251.

[5] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 179.

The realm was not more orderly than before. In October the Earl of Devon, whom Henry had injudiciously set at liberty in the spring, once more fell upon his enemies. The son of the Earl went one night with sixty armed men to the house of Nicholas Radford, a lawyer, near Kyrton in Devonshire, "and they set an house on fire at Radford's gate, and cried and made a noise as though they had been sorry for the fire; and by that cause Radford's men set open the gates and went out to see the fire; and forthwith the Earl's son aforesaid entered into the place and intreated Radford to come down of his chamber to speak with them, promising him that he should no bodily harm have; upon which promise he came down and spake with the said Earl's son. In the meantime his [Devon's] men robbed his chamber and rifled his hutches,[1] and trussed such as they could get together and carried it away on his own horse." Finally, in spite of the promise, the poor man was done to death, for one of the men "smot hym in the hed," while another "kyt his throte."[2] Not content with this outrage, Devon, after a severe fight with Bonville outside Exeter, entered the town and plundered the Cathedral, and capturing several of the Canons "put theym to fynaunce." Happily for his neighbours the incorrigible Courtenay died early in 1458.

Henry, after the opening of Parliament in July 1455, returned to Hertford and remained there throughout the summer. He was still there in October, when he was again attacked by his former malady. This time.

[1] Coffers. [2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 350, let. 257.

however, the unfortunate King's illness only lasted about four months. Margaret removed him to Greenwich and there devoted herself to his care.

As before, York was appointed Protector, and made his rule felt by going into Devonshire in person, in December, to restore order. His position, however, was not thought to be very secure. At the beginning of February 1456, he and Warwick came up to Parliament with a following of three hundred men, but no other lord came with them, which caused some surprise. Rumours went about that the Duke was to be discharged, and that if he had not come well defended he would have been "attacked"—if, indeed, any one would have dared to undertake it. The King was said to be favourable to him as "chief and principal counsellor," but the Queen was known to be his enemy, and, they said, "the Quene is a grete and stronge labourid woman, for she spareth noo peyne to sue hir thinges to an intent and conclusion to hir power."[1]

This month (February), however, Henry recovered from his attack, and on the 25th came to Parliament in person to take over the government from York. For eight months longer the Yorkists remained in power while matters were outwardly quiet, but Margaret and York were watching each other and making silent preparations.

At the end of April or beginning of May there was a general dispersion; York retired to Sandal, and Warwick to Warwick, while Margaret and her little son went to Tutbury, between the two, and in June to

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 377, let. 275.

Chester. The Queen always seems to have been happier out of London, where she was not popular, and which at that moment was in a riotous condition following on a violent attack on the Italian merchants. About the middle of May Henry left London and went up the river to Sheen.

A diversion was caused by "the Kynge of Scottys with the Rede Face" [1] (James II), who in the previous year had been repulsed from Berwick, but who this May announced that he no longer felt himself bound by the truce with England, and threatened to take up arms if certain concessions were not granted to him. He received a reply in July, in which York pointed out to him in the bluntest terms that he was Henry's vassal, and that his threats merely inspired contempt.[2] James retorted by making incursions into Northumberland, until York went north to chastise him, whereupon he thought it prudent to retreat. As a matter of fact James, since the battle of St. Albans, had been making attempts to stir up Charles VII of France to join him in a simultaneous attack on the English; but Charles was too much occupied with his own affairs; probably, also, he did not wish to make himself too unpleasant to his niece Margaret, and he therefore made excuses. One would have thought that James, being the son of a Beaufort, would not have desired to add to the troubles of the House of Lancaster, but apparently the traditional alliance with France was stronger than ties of blood.

[1] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* (ed. Gairdner), 70.
[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi. 383.

Towards the end of the summer of 1456 Henry and Margaret made a progress through the Midlands, visiting Kenilworth, Lichfield, Leicester, Coventry and other places during August and September. At the beginning of October Margaret, being suspicious of the temper of the Londoners, called a Council at Coventry; for in the Midlands, which was the part of England most loyally Lancastrian, she could venture much. When the Council met, York's position was at once assailed. Both Bourchiers were dismissed from the ministry, William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, being made Chancellor in place of the Archbishop, and the Earl of Shrewsbury becoming Treasurer. York himself, however, was not attacked, much being done in the cause of peace by Buckingham, who, in spite of the fact that he had fought on the King's side at St. Albans, entertained friendly feelings towards the Yorkists, owing to his relationship to Salisbury, and had therefore supported their government. The occasion did not pass without disturbance, for there was an affray between the young Duke of Somerset's men and the watchmen of the town of Coventry, "and ij or iij men of the town were kylled there, to gret disturbance of alle the Lords there; for the larom belle was ronge, and the toun arose, and wold have jouperdit to have distressed the Duke of Somerset, ne had the Duke of Buks not have take a direccion therein." [1]

York also seems to have been in some danger, for, adds the writer to John Paston, "it is said that my Lord of Yorke hath been with the King, and is departed

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 408, let. 298.

again in right good conceit with the King, but not in great conceit with the Queen; and some men say, had my Lord of Bucks not letted [hindered] it, my Lord of York had been distressed in his departing." [1] Buckingham, who was half-brother to the Bourchiers, considered it very unreasonable that they should be dismissed so suddenly, and felt the more warmly to the Yorkists.

The Council being over, the King and Queen continued their progress, visiting Stafford, Eccleshall,[2] Chester, Shrewsbury, and finally Kenilworth, where they remained. Margaret's efforts at this time were directed towards keeping Henry separated from York, for whom he showed too great a partiality to please her.

York retired to Sandal, Warwick "with a goodly company saylyd unto Calays," [3] and disorder reigned at home.

In 1457 the young Nevilles, over whom their father does not seem to have exerted much control, again fell out with Egremont, and had an affray in the north at Castleton. Egremont was subsequently condemned to pay a large fine and was imprisoned in Newgate. John Neville also had "dysencyon and unkyndenesse" [4] with young Henry of Somerset, because they both happened to be lodged in the City, and the Mayor had much ado to keep the peace.

During April and May 1457 the King and Queen

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 408, let. 298.

[2] Henry was at Coventry on 14 October, and at Eccleshall on the 20th.

[3] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 631.

[4] *Ibid.*, 632.

had their Court at Hereford, in order to control disturbances on the Welsh borders, while Buckingham was at Shrewsbury. About the same time Warwick came over from Calais to attend the wedding of his brother John (afterwards Lord Montagu) and visited Canterbury and Sandwich to thank those towns for their help to him at Calais.[1]

In August—in which month Henry was at Kenilworth—a humiliating disaster befell England from without. A large body of French privateers, led by Pierre de Brézé, actually landed in Kent and sacked the town of Sandwich. Moreover, a Breton contingent of the fleet visited the coast of Cornwall on their way home and plundered Fowey. Much feeling was aroused in the country by these outrages, and as it was known that Pierre de Brézé was an old friend of Margaret's, public suspicion attributed to her some connection with the event. It is difficult, however, to see how it could have served her, for at the moment there was no government but her own to be discredited, and she could hardly have been so mad as to think of employing a body of French to fight against York and thus rouse the whole country on his side. The immediate result of the affair was the appointment of Warwick to "keep the sea," for three years, an office in which he became conspicuously successful. Great offence was thus given to the Duke of Exeter, who had entirely neglected his duties as Lord Admiral of England, for, writes Botoner, he "takyth a grete displesir that my Lord Warewyke occupyeth hys

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 417, let. 305.

office and takyth the charge of the kepyng of the see uppon hym." [1] He was, however, pacified by a grant of £1,000.

Some sensation was caused in November of this year by the indictment for heresy of the Welsh Bishop of Chichester, Reginald Pecock, who had ventured to throw doubts on the infallibility of the Church and the authenticity of the Apostles' Creed. The unfortunate man, who had already injured his reputation by his attempts to secure more reasonable treatment for the Lollards, was summarily given his choice between recantation and death by fire. At that his courage failed, and he chose the former alternative. But his books were burnt at St. Paul's Cross, and " hymselfe kept in mewe ever whyle he lyved after." [2]

A last attempt was made to get rid of York by appointing him once more to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, but this time, far from being so easily removed, he merely appointed a deputy and remained where he was.

Every one felt apprehensive as to how long peace would be preserved, when at the beginning of 1458 the good and simple-minded King, hoping to calm the turmoil, stepped in with a solution after his own heart. In January a Grand Council was summoned in London with the object of settling the differences between the two parties by peaceful arbitration. The King came up from Abingdon towards the end of the month and went to Westminster. Salisbury, first of the Lords,

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 424, let. 313.
[2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 632.

arrived on 15 January with a great company of four hundred horse and eighty knights and squires, and lodged " at his place callyed the Erber " [1] (*i. e.* Cold Harbour, Blackfriars); York followed on the 26th with his household and went to Baynard's Castle close by; Exeter, " with a grete felyship and strong," [2] lodged, with the young Duke of Somerset, outside Temple Bar; Northumberland and Clifford, whose fathers had fallen at St. Albans, were accommodated, in company with Egremont, in Holborn and the neighbourhood—then known as the suburb. All had huge retinues of four or five hundred men. Finally, on 14 February Warwick arrived from Calais " with a great bande of men, all arayed in rede iakettys with white raggyd staves upon them," [3] and took up his quarters at the Grey Friars. The Mayor of London had an anxious time with this enormous influx of armed men, but by daily riding about the city and suburbs with five thousand citizens fully armed, and appointing four thousand more to keep watch by night, peace was effectually kept.

About 20 February the King and Queen went down to Berkhampstead for a short time, where they were visited by some of the Lancastrian Lords, but returned to London on 17 March and took up their residence at the Bishop of London's Palace. Meanwhile consultations had been going on busily: the Council sitting in the morning at the Black Friars for the benefit of the

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 632.
[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 424, let. 313.
[3] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 633.

Yorkists, and in the afternoon at the White Friars in Fleet Street for the Lancastrians. The result of these labours of Bourchier and Waynflete to subdue the rancour caused by the battle of St. Albans was made public on 24 March.

York, Salisbury and Warwick undertook to found a chantry at St. Albans Abbey for the souls of those who fell in the battle; York was to assign five thousand marks to the widowed Duchess of Somerset and her family, and Warwick was to deliver one thousand marks to the Cliffords. Salisbury and Egremont were bound over to keep the peace, and the latter was released from his fine of the previous year.

The Yorkists, by accepting this award, showed themselves very ready to make amends, and in this respect left nothing for the Lancastrians to complain of.

The proceedings were crowned on Lady Day by a solemn procession to St. Paul's for a public reconciliation between all parties. Henry, whose peace-loving mind must have originated this idea, headed the company in royal state; York led the Queen, Salisbury followed with young Somerset, Warwick with his rival Exeter, and the rest similarly paired. According to a ballad of the time

> "Ther was bytwyn hem lovely countynaunce,
> Whiche was gret joy to all that ther were."[1]

This was no doubt true of Henry, who rejoiced to think that dissensions were at an end, but it is doubtful

[1] Wright; *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls Ser.), 255.

whether any one else was deceived into thinking it other than a "dyssymulyd unyte and concorde."[1]

Warwick returned to his duties as Chief Captain to guard the seas, in which capacity he immensely increased his popularity, and gained a lasting hold upon the affections of the sailors by his brilliantly successful skirmishing in the Channel. He particularly distinguished himself by a great fight on 29 May with a Spanish fleet, a description of which engagement, written by one who took part in it, is still extant. "On Trinity Sunday in the morning," wrote John Jernyngan to Margaret Paston, "came tidings to my Lord of Warwick that there were xxviij sail of Spaniards on the sea, and whereof there was xvi great ships of forecastle; and then my Lord went and manned five ships of forecastle, and three carvells,[2] and four spynes,[3] and on the Monday, on the morning after Trinity Sunday, we met together before Calais, at four at the clock in the morning, and fought together till ten at the clock; and there we took six of their ships, and they slew of our men about four score, and hurt a two hundred of us right sore; and there were slain on their part about twelve score, and hurt a five hundred of them. And it happed me, at the first boarding of us, we took a ship of 300 ton, and I was left therein and xxiii men with me; and they fought so sore that our men were fain to leave them, and then came they and boarded the ship that I was in, and there I was taken, and was prisoner with them six hours, and was

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 633.

[2] A ship of six- or sevenscore tons.

[3] Pinnaces.

delivered again for their men that were taken before. And as men say, there was not so great a battle upon the sea this forty winters." [1] England was not actually at war with Spain at the time, but no complaints seem to have arisen. On the next occasion, however, Warwick was not so fortunate in his selection of enemies, for he destroyed three Genoese ships and part of an Hanseatic fleet, which action was contrary to existing treaties. The Hanseatic League at once complained to the Council, and Margaret seized the opportunity to have Warwick summoned home for an investigation of his conduct. When Warwick came to London in the autumn—" the foresayd dissymulyd love-day hangyng by a smalle threde " [2]—the Queen attempted to get the Earl dismissed from his post and young Somerset appointed in his stead. Warwick, however, stoutly refused to resign before the end of his term unless dismissed by Parliament, which body Margaret did not dare to summon.

On 9 November, when Warwick was with the Council in Westminster Hall, a brawl sprang up between one of the King's servants and a man of the Earl's retinue. Whichever began it, Warwick's man hurt the other and fled, whereupon a cry was raised for Warwick, and when he came out to see what was the cause of it " the kynges servantys came unwarely upon hym so rabbysshely that the cookys with their spyttys and other offycers with other wepyns came runnynge as madde men, entendynge to have slayen hym, so that he escaped

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 427, let. 317.
[2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 633.

with great daunger and toke his barge, and soo in all haste rowed to London, not without great maymys and hurtis receyvyd by many of his servauntis." [1]

Warwick and his friends attributed this attempt to the Queen's agency, while Margaret on her side tried to get him arrested for creating a disturbance.

The Earl, seeing his danger, escaped to his castle of Warwick, and after holding a consultation with his father and the Duke of York, returned to Calais, where he was beyond the reach of his enemies.

The country hovered on the verge of a fresh outbreak of war. It was only postponed because neither side wished to take the first step, for each party desired that the responsibility of taking the initiative should rest upon the other.

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 634.

CHAPTER VIII

1459–1460 : YORK'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST HENRY'S BAD GOVERNMENT

THE year 1459 must have opened forebodingly for the harassed people of England. For "the reame of England was oute of alle good governaunce, as it had be meny dayes before; for the King was simple and led by couetous counseylle, and owed more then he was worthe."[1] Margaret and her favourites grew more and more unpopular, for their only thought was to accumulate riches for themselves. "The offices [officers] of the reme, and specially the erle of Wylshyre, tresorere of Engelond, for to enryche hymself, peled the pore peple and disheryted ryghtefulle eyres, and dede meny wronges."[2] No Parliament had been summoned for three years, but apparently this was not regarded as a grievance.

The state of suspense continued for some months longer. Henry kept his Easter that year at St. Albans Abbey, on which occasion a characteristic incident is related of him. On his departure the King, doubtless finding himself without funds, with his usual impulsive generosity presented to the Abbot his "best robe,"

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 79.

[2] *Ibid.* The Earl of Wiltshire was James Butler, also Earl of Ormond.

regardless of the needy state of the royal wardrobe. His treasurer, much embarrassed, and unwilling that his master should be without proper apparel, was obliged to redeem the necessary robe from the Abbot at a cost of fifty marks. Moreover the King, "scarcely consenting" to this transaction, consoled himself by giving the Prior a warrant for sufficient crimson tissue to make a set of vestments in its place.[1] No wonder that a king accustomed to bestow gifts with a lavishness that he was quite unable to afford was ill-prepared for war.

In April Margaret at length began to act, and to sound the condition of public feeling. Towards the end of the month summons were sent out under the Privy Seal, some of them signed by Henry himself, bidding his supporters to "be wyth the Kyng at Leycester the x day of May, wyth as many personys defensebylly arayid as they myte acordyng to her degre, and that they schwld bryng wyth hem for her expensys for ij monythis."[2] The Yorkists, however, not being as yet ready for action, took no notice of this challenge, and if the assembly took place it must have dispersed again quietly, for no breach of the peace occurred.

May and June were occupied in arousing loyalty in the Western Midlands. The King, if he was at Leicester on 10 May, left there immediately afterwards and went to Northampton. Margaret went into Shropshire and Cheshire, keeping open house and taking with her the

[1] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 323.
[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), . 438, let. 325.

little Prince Edward, then nearly six years old. Many adherents were won to her side by causing him to distribute with his own little hands to the gentlemen of the county and others silver badges of the swan, which he now took as his cognizance, and which had formerly been borne by Humphrey of Gloucester and before that by his ancestor Edward III. It is even asserted by one chronicler that Margaret attempted to induce certain lords to exert their influence over Henry to persuade him to abdicate in favour of his son, but, as might have been expected, she was not successful.[1]

The Yorkists did not display any haste in making counter-preparations. As before, they did not wish to incur the responsibility of aggression, and consequently waited for provocation. About July they began to arm, but it was September before action was decided upon.

At the beginning of September 1459 it appears that Margaret and the Council, feeling themselves to be in a strong position, sent a peremptory summons to Salisbury, who was in Yorkshire, to appear before the King. The Earl, being placed in a somewhat dangerous position, took this summons as the signal for action, and at once sent to Calais for his son Warwick, who was evidently ready and waiting to be called upon, probably as the outcome of his interview with his father and York at Warwick in the previous autumn. Salisbury then collected what force he could in the North, but instead of proceeding to London as commanded, he set out with the intention of joining the Duke of York at his castle of Ludlow, in order that they might

[1] *Engl. Chron.* (ed. J. S. Davies), 79.

together wait upon Henry, who seems to have been at Coleshill, and remonstrate with him in much the same manner as before the battle of St. Albans, that is to say, with the professedly loyal object of "removing betrayers from around the King." The Earl left Middleham Castle about 12 September and marched south, but Margaret, and the army which she had been diligently gathering all the summer, was in the neighbourhood of Coventry; and those about the King having, as usual, informed him that the Yorkists intended his destruction, the royal troops moved north-west towards Eccleshall to intercept Salisbury's march. Somerset meanwhile had come up to Northampton with another body of men. Henry "in Princely manere and with grete celerite spedde the journey," [1] but Margaret, although five miles ahead of him, was not quick enough, and Salisbury would have slipped by unmolested had she not summoned Lord Audley and armed him with an order to arrest the Earl. Audley raised all the gentlemen of Cheshire and Shropshire to whom the little Prince had recently distributed badges, and hastened towards Market Drayton. On 23 September he met Salisbury, who had only five thousand men with him, at Blore Heath, where the Earl, seeing that a conflict was inevitable, drew up his little company with the woods in their rear. After an encounter described as a "strong bykeryng," [2] which lasted all the afternoon from one o'clock until five, the Lancastrians, in spite of their superior numbers, were put to flight, Audley himself being slain, with a

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 348. [2] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 634.

great number of "the notable knyghtes and squyers of Chesshyre that had resceved the lyvery of the swannes." [1] Lord Dudley was made a prisoner.

Salisbury and his men, however, had a very narrow escape, for the royal army was close at hand, and reached Eccleshall, five miles away, that night. Henry himself was ten miles off, but Margaret is said to have watched the battle from the tower of Mucklestone Church, in which case her impatience must have caused her to hasten on ahead of her men. Had the royal army quickly advanced from Eccleshall that night Salisbury must have been caught and destroyed, but his retreat was covered by the exploits of an Austin friar, who "schot gonnys alle that nyght in a parke that was at the backe syde of the Fylde," and thus misled Margaret, who had fled back to Eccleshall, into thinking that the Yorkists were still holding their position. The Lancastrians therefore waited for morning light, but "on the morowe they founde nothyr man ne chylde in that parke but the fryer, and he sayde that for fere he abode in that parke alle that nyght," [2] apparently finding the noise of the guns comforting.

The only success which fell to the royal arms that day was the capture, at Tarporley, of the turbulent younger sons of Salisbury, Thomas and John Neville, who had been wounded at Blore Heath, and who were now imprisoned for a time at Chester. Thus Salisbury got away to Ludlow and effected his junction with the Duke of York.

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 80.
[2] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 204.

Warwick meanwhile had left Calais in charge of his Uncle William, Lord Fauconberg—who is pleasantly described as "a little man in stature but a knight of great reverence" [1]—and with Sir Andrew Trollope and a body of about six hundred men from the garrison of Calais landed at Sandwich and marched towards Ludlow. It was by the merest chance that he avoided a conflict at Coleshill, for, as he passed by, "the Duke of Somerset whythe hys men rode alonge thoroughe the towne, and yet non of hem mette whythe othyr as hyt happyd, or by lyckely hode they wold have made a newe fraye." [2]

The three Richards were now at Ludlow, whence, after an expedition to Worcester, they despatched a letter to Henry by the hands of the Prior of Worcester and William Lynwood, announcing that they had solemnly signed an indenture in Worcester Cathedral testifying their loyalty to the King, complaining of the behaviour of their enemies, and pointing out that they merely wished to remove the instruments of Henry's intolerably bad government. Apparently, however, this document did not reach the King, but was intercepted by the Bishop of Exeter, his confessor, and a reply sent that the King would be found on the field.

This scrupulous action and delay on the part of the Yorkist leaders gave Margaret time to rally her forces at Coventry, where many assembled "for the love they bare to the King, but more for the feare they

[1] Oman, *Warwick the King-maker*, 74.
[2] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 205.

had of the queen, whose countenance was so fearful and whose looke was so terrible that to al men against whom she toke a small displeasure her frounyng was their undoing and her indignation was their death." [1] Henry himself took the campaign very strenuously, and displayed an activity most unusual in him, "not sparyng for eny ympedyment or difficulte of wey, nor of intemporance of wedders . . . and somtyme as the case required logged in bare feld somtyme two nyghtes togider." [2] He wasted no time in marching against the Yorkists, but with his usual clemency and dislike of bloodshed he offered an amnesty to all those in arms against him, with the exception of Salisbury and a few others who had fought at Blore Heath, if York would disband his men and give up his purpose. The Duke, however, probably mistrustful of the Queen, remained in arms, and established his camp at Ludford, just outside Ludlow, where they made "a grete depe dyche and fortefyde it with gonnys, cartys and stakys; but hys party was ovyr weke, for the kyng was mo thenn XXXM[1] [30,000] of harneysyd men, by syde nakyd men that were compelled for to come with the kynge." [3] York's position was indeed most insecure, and as a last resort he even published a report that Henry was dead, and to give it colour instructed his chaplains to sing masses for the King's soul. Henry, however, approached Ludford in person on 12 October, and encouraged his host in "so witty, so

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 241.
[2] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 348.
[3] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 205.

knyghtly, so manly, in so comfortable wise "[1] that, in spite of the badness of the ways and the flooded river, the royal camp was pitched that evening opposite the Yorkists, with only the swollen stream and the bridge of Ludford between them. Henry, probably aware of the discouraged state of York's army, issued a fresh proclamation, promising free pardon to all except the leaders if they would join his standard. A few shots were fired across the river by the "rebels," but their position was hopeless. At nightfall Sir Andrew Trollope, one of Warwick's captains, and a veteran of the French wars, deserted and went over to the King with all the men from the Calais garrison. After that the host melted away; "secretly in the night each sought the place he considered the most safe."[2] At midnight York, with his second son, Edmund of Rutland, fled into Wales, "and breke downe the bryggys aftyr hym that the Kyngys mayny schulde not come aftyr hym."[3] Finally he escaped to Ireland, where he was received "as though another Messiah had descended to them."[4] His wife and younger sons were left at Ludlow Castle and fell into the hands of the Lancastrians.

Salisbury and Warwick, with the young Earl of March (afterwards Edward IV), Sir John Dynham and two or three others, fled south into Devonshire, hotly pursued by Trollope, who was evidently intent on

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 348.
[2] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 344–5.
[3] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 205.
[4] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), 367.

proving his new-found loyalty. But in spite of the fact that there was " a sending and a running with all speed toward every coast to take those lords," [1] they succeeded in reaching a fishing village near Barnstaple. There they bought a small fishing smack for 220 nobles, and embarked with four mariners, pretending that they wished to go to Bristol. When they got out into the Channel, however, Warwick asked the master mariner if he could navigate westwards, but the man replied that he could not. Warwick, nothing daunted, seeing that his father and cousin were alarmed, spoke to them comfortable words and promised that " by the pleasure of God and of Monseigneur de St. George he would take them safely to port." [2] Whereupon, the sail having been hoisted, he took the helm himself, and putting his knowledge of the Channel to good account, successfully navigated his little vessel to Guernsey, of which island he happened to be the overlord. In Guernsey they were windbound for eight days, but at length, on 3 November, they safely reached Calais, where they were received with great joy by Fauconberg, and with honour and acclamations by the Mayor and citizens. What became of the unfortunate Devonshire mariners is not stated; perhaps they got back from Guernsey.

Meanwhile the King's troops fell upon Ludlow, as belonging to York, and it was sacked and " robbed to the bare walles." Many of the soldiers " fulle ungoodely smote owte the heddys of the pypys and hoggys hedys of wyne, that men wente wete-schode in

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 635.
[2] J. de Waurin, *Anchiennes Cronicques*, ii. 196.

wyne." The Duchess of York "unmanly and cruelly was entreted and spoyled." [1]

Such was the failure of York's second resort to arms. In this campaign there seems to have been a curious lack of enthusiasm for the Yorkist cause. Perhaps the nation had not looked kindly upon the incident of the battle of St. Albans, and thought that in this case the Yorkists had taken up arms without sufficient provocation. It was a mistake also on the part of the Duke to select as a battle-field a part of the country with the Midland Counties, which were always most loyal to the House of Lancaster, between him and the south of England. The Yorkist cause always prospered more in the neighbourhood of London, or in Yorkshire, where York and Salisbury had their estates. On this occasion at any rate the people did not join them as they had hoped. The removal of Somerset was probably in one way a handicap, for the nation had felt little hesitation in joining in an attack on the one "traitor" they so cordially hated, whereas now many were cautious about attacking the King's Government in general, as being a proceeding of far more doubtful loyalty. From this time also there seems—not unnaturally—to have been a certain misgiving in the country as to York's real intentions, and a growing suspicion of his loyalty to Henry.

After the affair of Ludford no time was lost in summoning a Parliament to meet in November. The place chosen was the Royalist town of Coventry, and the elections were shamelessly manipulated to secure a

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 207.

strongly Lancastrian assembly. A great part of the members, it was stated in a later Parliament, "were named, retourned, and accepted, som of theym without dieu and free election, and som of theym withoute any election, ayenst the cours of youre lawes and the libertees of the Commons of this youre Realme." [1]

At this moment, when the Yorkist party was in eclipse, it seems as though Henry's dynasty might yet have been saved had Margaret turned her energies towards the establishment of a competent government; but her purpose seems to have been set merely on personal revenge. This carefully packed Parliament was used as an instrument for the chastisement of her enemies. A Bill of Attainder was brought in and passed against the principal Yorkists, including the Duke of York and his sons the Earls of March and Rutland, the Earl of Salisbury, his wife and his three sons, Lord Powys, Lord Clinton, Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir Thomas Parr, Sir John Conyers,[2] Sir John Wenlock, Sir William Oldhall (the former Speaker), Sir John Dynham, Edward Bourchier and various others, their estates and possessions being forfeited. They were, moreover, "cryed opynly and proclamed as for rebellis and traytoures; and theyre tenauntes and there men spoyled of theyre goodes, maymed, bete and slayne without eny pyte." [3]

Although York was not actually charged in the Bill of Attainder with instigating Jack Cade's Rebellion, it was implied that he had had a connection with it, its

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 374. [2] Son-in-law of Fauconberg.
[3] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 83.

object being " to have exalted the seid Duc, ayenst all reason, lawe and trouth, to the estate that God and nature hath ordeyned you [King Henry] and youre succession to be born to " [1]—a statement which was far from the truth.

Henry, according to his usual custom, reserved to himself the right of pardoning any of the persons thus attainted, and Thomas and John Neville, who were in his hands, merely continued in captivity and were not executed. Lord Powys also, by making his submission, saved his life, though his possessions were forfeited to the Crown.

The Duchess of York was given into the custody of her sister, the Duchess of Buckingham, who apparently was not overtender with her, and gave her " many a grete rebuke." [2] A solemn oath of allegiance to the King and to his son, Prince Edward, was exacted from both Houses. Bishop Waynflete continued to hold the office of Chancellor, and the hated Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond that of Treasurer.

The young Duke of Somerset, to his great satisfaction, was appointed Captain of Calais in place of Warwick, and went, accompanied by Lord Audley [3] and Lord Roos, to take up his post. Oddly enough his herald arrived before Calais on the evening of the very day on which Warwick had been so triumphantly received there, and returned to his master extremely disconcerted at this totally unlooked-for development of the situa-

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 346.
[2] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 207.
[3] Whose father was killed at Blore Heath.

tion. Somerset's astonishment and annoyance to find his enemy thus firmly installed in his place must have been great, for Warwick had vanished after Ludford and no tidings had been heard of him since. Next day the Duke sailed for France, but owing to a contrary wind most of his ships, containing his arms and baggage, were driven into Calais into the very arms of Warwick, Audley himself being made a prisoner. Warwick caused the men thus delivered into his hands to be questioned, and those who had formerly taken an oath of allegiance to himself and were now serving against him were ruthlessly executed as a warning. As for Somerset, he escaped, and took refuge at Guisnes, where, since Warwick was established in the governorship of Calais, he was in rather a helpless position. He remained there for some time, attempting without success to cut off Warwick's supplies from Flanders, and he and the Earl "bykered togiders sondry tymes," [1] but with little result. Somerset was so unwise as to enlist French help at Margaret's instigation, for the King was prevailed upon to send "letters to his enemyes and adversaryes in other landes, that in no wyse thay shold shew eny favoure or good wylle to the toun of Caleys, whereby they had comfort ynoughe to procede to the wynnyng therof" [2]—a proceeding which did not increase the popularity of his party at home. Warwick, on the other hand, was continually strengthened by the influx of refugees from England to join his cause.

[1] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 170.
[2] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 88.

York meanwhile was equally firmly established in Ireland. After her attainder, Anne, Countess of Salisbury, made her escape from England and joined him at Dublin. The party divisions which were rending England had spread to Ireland also, for since James Butler, Earl of Ormond, whose wife was a Beaufort, had curried favour with the Lancastrians and had become Earl of Wiltshire and Treasurer, the rival family of Geraldines, Earls of Desmond and Kildare, felt it necessary vehemently to espouse the cause of York. Margaret made yet another mistake in attempting to stir up the " wild Irish " against him in the hope of getting him into trouble, but the scheme entirely failed, for, as York explained in a later manifesto, " dyvers lordes caused his hyghenesse to wryte letters under his privy seale unto his Yrisshe enemyes, whyche never Kyng of Englond dyd heretofore, whereby they may have comfort to entre in to the conquest of the sayde londe; whiche letters the same Yrysshe enemyes sent un to me the sayde Duke of York, and merveled gretely that any suche letters shuld be to theym sent, spekyng therinne gret shame and vylony of the seyde reme." [1] The Duke's cause was only furthered by this indiscretion, which caused considerable murmuring in England, and he became the idol of the inhabitants of the Pale. He did not fail, either, to consolidate his position by making new statutes, and even set up a mint, which turned out " grotys of a newe kune [2] in Irlonde; in one syde of

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 87.
[2] Coin.

the grote was a crowne, and in that othyr syde a crosse." [1]

Thus Margaret had in no way benefited by the banishment of her enemies. They were merely removed to a safe place, where they had time and opportunity for nursing their strength, and, far from being destroyed, were likely to be roused to still more formidable efforts by the extreme measure of passing an attainder against them. Had Margaret taken prompt measures to expel them forcibly from their posts of vantage in Ireland and France, she might have hoped for future success, but either she was too negligent or she had not a sufficient force at her command. Moreover the severe sentences of the Parliament held after the rout of Ludford had begun to turn the tide of public feeling once more in favour of the Yorkists. A doctor of Ludgate, who preached at St. Paul's, "chargyng the peple that no man schuld preyen for these Lords traytorys . . . had lytyl thank." [2]

Warwick, in Calais, did not remain idle. Somerset at Guisnes had not sufficient force at his command to effect anything against him, and at length, at the end of 1459, Lord Rivers [3] was sent down to Sandwich with a small body of reinforcements for him to prepare for embarkation. Warwick, however, was well aware of this, and shortly after Christmas, when he thought the moment suitable, sent his able lieutenants, Dynham

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 205.

[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 497, let. 341.

[3] Sir Richard Woodville, who had married Bedford's widow, the Duchess of Luxemburg.

and Wenlock, who slipped out of Calais on 7 January " with a small number of men but with a multitude of coragious hartes," [1] and ran into Sandwich in the early morning. The arrival of their ships there aroused no suspicion, the people thinking that they were traders from the Baltic, and the raid met with complete success. Lord Rivers was ignominiously taken in his bed and carried off, and his men surprised and overcome. His son, Sir Anthony Rivers, was also captured as he had the misfortune to arrive from London a little later. Evidently the populace of the town was at heart favourable to the Yorkists, for they offered not the smallest opposition to this remarkable performance. Finally Dynham and Wenlock calmly sailed back to Calais, " and took with theym alle the grete shyppes, save one called *Grâce Dieu*, the whyche myghte nat be had awey because she was broke in the botome." [2] And " my Lord Ryvers was brought to Caleys, and byfor the Lords with viij^{xx} torches,[3] and there my Lord of Salesbury reheted [4] hym, callyng hym knaves son, that he schuld be so rude to calle hym and these other Lords traytors, for they schall be found the Kyngs treue liege men, whan he schuld be found a traytour. And my Lord of Warrewyk rehetyd hym, and seyd that his fader was but a squyer, and broute up with Kyng Herry the Vte, and sethen hymself made by maryage, and also made Lord, and that it was not his parte to have swyche langage of Lords, beyng of the

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, 242–3.
[2] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 85.
[3] Eightscore.
[4] Rated.

Kyngs blood. And my Lord of Marche reheted hym in lyke wyse. And Sir Antony was reheted for his langage of all iij Lords in lyke wyse." [1] Rivers might have turned the tables with effect upon Warwick and Salisbury, seeing that both of them had begun life as plain Richard Neville and had obtained their earldoms by marriage with heiresses; but he was hardly in a position to venture upon such a retort. In after years he not only supported the Yorkist cause, but actually became the father-in-law of the young Earl of March, who on this occasion had treated him with such contempt.

The Chancellor Waynflete, after the disconcerting incident of Sandwich, hurried to the King's presence, and it was reported at the end of January 1460 that Henry was coming "to London ward, and as it is seyd, rereth the pepyll as he come." [2] Commissions of array were sent to many counties bidding the levies to be ready when called upon.

But meanwhile feeling in England was becoming more and more favourable to the Yorkists. There was a feeling of resentment that York and the two most popular Earls "crowelly were banysshed oute of this londe and not excepte like as thei were worthi," [3] and men had now had time to see that no benefit resulted to the country from their absence. The Government was as bad as ever; political infidelity had taken root, and the civil strife was assuming a more ferocious character. Moreover, the Lancastrians laboured under

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 506, let. 346. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles* (ed. Gairdner), 72.

the disadvantage of possessing no capable head, for Margaret, although to a certain extent an able woman and possessed of some capacity for arousing enthusiasm, was rash and impetuous, and wholly without the faculty of sound judgment. Her unpopularity was, moreover, increased by her foolish and unpatriotic dealings with the French and Irish.

Signs of disaffection were not wanting. The men of Kent began to grow restless. The exiled Lords sent letters "unto many placys of Englonde howe they were a vysyde to reforme the hurtys and myschevys ande grevys that raynyd in thys londe; and that causyd them moche the more to be lovyde of the comyns of Kente and of London." [1]

Deep indignation was aroused by the conduct of the Earl of Wiltshire, who, armed with a royal commission, went with Scales and Hungerford to Newbury, which belonged to York, and arrested all men who were known to be favourable to the Duke, causing some of them to be hanged, drawn and quartered, after which the town was plundered, as if in time of war, without the least cause. The Earl of Wiltshire is then said to have gone down to Southampton, where he obtained five carracks, ostensibly "to take the Erle of Warrewyk, but specyally for to stele privyly owte of the reame." [2] Having put on board a quantity of provisions and most of his personal treasure, he filled the ships with soldiers, after which he embarked and "sayled aboute in the see." Finally, however, being

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 206.
[2] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 90.

a notorious coward and "dredyng alwey the commyng of the forseyde Erles of Warrewyk and Salesbury,"[1] he went to Holland and sent his men back to England from there.

Early in 1460 nine citizens of London, who had formed the bold design of joining Warwick at Calais, were taken with one Roger Nevyle, whose very name was suspicious as showing a possible connection with the Earl's family, and were actually hanged and beheaded. These severe measures, which were taken in February, did much to alienate the citizens of London, always somewhat favourably inclined towards the Yorkists, from the Lancastrian cause.

The present situation grew impossible. Rumours ran abroad that Warwick was about to attempt a landing, and it was reported that Norfolk was to be sent by the King to keep Easter at Caistor Castle,[2] near Yarmouth, "for safe gard of the cuntre ayens Warwyk and other swich of the Kinges enmyes, whiche may lytely be lyklynesse aryve at Waxham."

The country waited anxiously for the next step on the part of York and his fellow-exiles.

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 90.

[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 514, let. 349. The castle was built by Sir John Fastolf, who was lately deceased. Henry himself had been eastwards, for he had spent three days during Lent at Croyland Abbey.

CHAPTER IX

1460–1461 : YORKIST CLAIM TO THE CROWN

In the spring of 1460 Warwick saw that the time was ripe for planning a fresh course of action. About the beginning of Lent news at last reached him of the encouraging position of York in Ireland. Ireland, however, was far away and it might be expected that the King's ships would keep the seas to prevent communication. But Warwick probably well knew the state that the navy was likely to be in, apart from the fact that he had a portion of it in his own hands, and in March he boldly sailed out of Calais with his six best ships filled with soldiers. Reaching Ireland without opposition, he met York on 16 March, and on the following day they proceeded together to Waterford, where a consultation was held. It was finally agreed there that Warwick from Calais and York from Ireland should land simultaneously in England with all available forces in the following June. This arrangement being made Warwick started on his return voyage, taking with him his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, who had been in Ireland with York since her attainder, and who now took this opportunity of rejoining her husband at Calais. By this time Henry's sluggish ministry had become aware of the Earl's movements, and Exeter, who was once again Admiral of England, sailed out with the *Grâce Dieu* and thirteen

other ships to intercept him, and about Whitsuntide lay off Dartmouth awaiting Warwick's return. He had, however, reckoned without the great popularity of Warwick with the sailors, for when the Earl's fleet hove in sight, Exeter's men, although superior in numbers, promptly mutinied and refused to fight against their old captain, so that the Admiral "durst nat sette opponn the erle, ne the erle wolde nat dystresse hym because he was amyral and of the kynges bloode, but late hym passe by." [1] Exeter was obliged to retreat ignominiously, into Dartmouth, while Warwick, with his mother, who had been sadly upset by the voyage, reached Calais in safety on 1 June, having been absent nearly two months.

The Home Government, probably disconcerted by the naval incident, made another attempt to send assistance to Somerset for the dislodgment of Warwick, and in June five hundred men under Osbert Mundford were sent to Sandwich ready to embark. But Warwick had by that time completed his preparations. He is even said to have compelled the Merchants of the Staple at Calais to lend him £18,000, which much displeased Henry. Most favourable reports were received of the state of feeling in Kent; according to one chronicler the men of that county, alarmed by the brutality of the Earl of Wiltshire at Newbury, sent messengers to Calais imploring the Earls to come to their succour and promising to support them. Warwick, a little mistrustful, is said to have sent over Fauconberg, who reported satisfactorily upon the

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 85.

matter and obtained a large following.[1] If, however, he really did go to Kent, which seems an improbable and dangerous undertaking, he returned again, for he crossed from Calais with his brother and nephew later on.

But besides the Kentish men, all the Yorkist Lords who had not been involved at Blore Heath and Ludford, and had consequently not been attainted, were holding themselves in readiness for the return of their leaders. It only remained to secure a footing in England. One would have thought that any one in command at Sandwich would have taken a lesson from the former disaster, but the Lancastrians seemed incapable of prudence. About 20 June Dynham and Wenlock once more approached the town, attacked it, and after a hot fight were victorious. Osbert Mundford was carried off to Calais, and on 25 June was beheaded on the sands with twelve of his men, for he had been one of the deserters in Trollope's company at Ludford. This time, however, Dynham did not return, but, having won a foothold, remained at Sandwich to keep the door open for Warwick.

Before starting on their enterprise the Yorkists issued two manifestoes. One, addressed to Cardinal Coppini, demanded the reversal of the attainders of 1459, inferring that otherwise they would feel compelled to resort to force against this injustice. At the same time, however, they still asserted their allegiance to Henry—their ideas of loyalty being strangely elastic. The second document, addressed to the Archbishop

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 91.

of Canterbury and the Commons of England, recited the grievances of the country in general which they wished to have redressed. They mentioned, for the first time, the oppression and extortion to which the Church had been subjected—presumably by Henry's favourites, but if so the King must have been ignorant of their actions, for he would never have permitted it. They also complained that the poverty of the King caused the despoiling of his subjects by the officials of his household, and they therefore desired that he should live within his means. Justice was "parcially and unrightfully guyded" by corruption, so that "all rightwysnesse and justice ys exyled of the sayde londe and no manne dredethe to offende ayenst the seyde lawes."[1] The Commons were oppressed by taxes and tallages, most of which were appropriated by the Lords, who, according to the old plaint, had suffered the King's domains in France to be lost. A fresh burden had now been imposed in obliging every township to find men for the King's guard (this was apparently a distorted version of the levies called out earlier in the year in anticipation of a Yorkist landing). The ill-treatment and impeachment of York and his friends were complained of, also the King's intrigues with the French and Irish. The Earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire and Lord Beaumont were mentioned as being particularly obnoxious; these men were said to be responsible for the wretchedness of the realm, and not the King, "whyche ys hymself as noble, as vertuous, as ryghtewys

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 86.

and blyssed of dysposicione as any prince erthely." Therefore, they once more purposed to come to his presence and "opene and declare there unto hym the myscheves aboue declared," praying the people to support them.[1]

On 26 June, accordingly, Warwick, Salisbury, March and Fauconberg, with 2000 men, left Calais and crossed the Channel, taking with them also Lord Audley, who during his captivity had been won over to their cause in spite of the "rating" with which he had been received. The Cardinal Legate Coppini, Bishop of Terni, also accompanied them, being sent by the Pope to mediate between the two parties in the hope of arriving at a peaceful understanding. But he also was won over by the Yorkists, and being thus biased his mission came to naught, at which the Pope was much displeased.

Incredible as it may seem, no preparations seem to have been made by Henry and his ministers against an invasion—unless the unfortunate Mundford at Sandwich had been intended to guard the coasts, a task which he signally failed to perform. Yet they can hardly have been blind to the probability of a Yorkist landing in the near future. The three Earls arrived at Sandwich, where they were met by Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, with his cross borne before him and a great multitude of people in his train. Thus accompanied they marched towards London, through Canterbury, Rochester and Dartford, being joined on the way by Lord Cobham and gentlemen

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 89.

and yeomen from all over the South. By the time they reached Blackheath their forces had swelled to 20,000, and at Southwark they were met by the Bishops of Ely and Exeter [1] with another band.

On 27 June the Council of the City of London had decided to remain loyal to King Henry. However, such was the feeling of nervousness and unrest that on the Sunday following it was thought wise to forbid the citizens to attend service at St. Paul's. Rapidly the loyalty of the fickle Londoners began to give way, and a letter from the Earl of Warwick finally won them over to his side.[2] Hungerford and Scales, who had hastened to the defence of the city, were received with such coldness by the Mayor and aldermen that, seeing the strength of the Yorkist army, they took refuge in the Tower, together with all the Lancastrian nobility in the city. Meanwhile the Earls had sent a herald to ask admittance to London, and a short discussion took place. A slight opposition was raised, the Lancastrians advising the Mayor to "ley gunnery at the brege for to kepe thaym oute, and so a lytell division there was among the citezens, but yt was sone ceased." [3] Finally twelve discreet aldermen were sent to bid the Earls welcome, and on 2 July the Yorkists entered the city. In passing over London Bridge, however, the crowd was so great that thirteen of the Bishop's men fell, and the weight of their armour hindering their rise, they were trampled to death.

[1] George Neville, brother of Warwick.
[2] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 299–300.
[3] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 94.

Convocation was sitting at St. Paul's, and Warwick took the opportunity of explaining his grievances in their presence, after which all the leaders, following their usual custom, took an oath upon the cross of Canterbury that they willed nothing against the King.

Henry meanwhile was with the Queen at Coventry, where he had been holding his Court when the Earls landed, and he was now making all haste to collect his forces there. His supporters in London continued to hold out in the Tower, whence they "caste wyld fyre into the city and shot in smale gonnes and brende and hurte men and wymmen and chyldren in the stretes."[1] Meanwhile the Yorkist peers flocked to London with their retinues to join Warwick's standard. There was, however, no time to be lost. It was decided that Salisbury should remain as Governor of London, supported by Sir John Wenlock and Lord Cobham with a sufficient force, while Warwick went north to meet the King. Salisbury kept the Tower closely besieged, "grete bombards" being placed on the opposite bank of the river to fire upon it, but it held out for several weeks longer. Nothing as yet had been heard of York, and on 5 July Warwick set out, accompanied by Archbishop Bourchier, Bishop Neville his brother, his uncles Fauconberg and Abergavenny, Lord Bourchier, brother-in-law of York, Lords Clinton and Scrope, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury and Rochester, Cardinal Coppini, Lord Audley his former prisoner, Lord Say, son of the hated Lancastrian, and the Prior of St. Johns, formerly such an ardent

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 96.

supporter of the King. They marched with their host towards Northampton, whither the King had proceeded with his army and entrenched himself. Henry had left his wife and son at Coventry, evidently fearing for their safety, and upon leaving Margaret he "kyste hyr and blessyd the prynce, and commannded hyr that she shulde not com unto hym tylle that he sende a specyalle tokyn unto hyr that no man knewe but the kynge and she."[1] Upon reaching Northampton, Henry, who was accompanied by Buckingham, brother-in-law to Salisbury, Shrewsbury, son of the famous Talbot, Egremont, the special enemy of Salisbury's sons, and Lords Beaumont and Grey de Ruthyn, encamped in the meadows outside the town, beside Delapré Abbey, with the river Nene behind him: a strong position defended by artillery.

Warwick was still loyal—according to Yorkist ideas of loyalty—and was apparently still honestly persuaded that all that was necessary was an entire change of ministry. Accordingly he made every effort to avoid a conflict and to come to a peaceful understanding. Three times he sent to the King beseeching an interview to explain himself. The first time he sent several bishops with a small body of men, but they were repulsed with scorn by Buckingham, who stood beside the King. After that he twice sent a herald, the last time to say that "at ij houres after none he wolde speke with hym or elles dye in the feeld."[2] The Archbishop of Canterbury

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 209.
[2] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 97.

also sent a bishop, who, however, the second time he went did not return, but slipped away. These overtures being rejected, at two o'clock Warwick advanced to the attack. The young Earl of March, "beyn lusty and in the floure of his coragious yought," [1] bore his father's banner on the right wing, and there fought his first battle. Warwick commanded the centre, and Fauconberg the left wing. Instructions were issued by Warwick before the battle that the King and the common people were to be spared, and destruction launched only upon the lords, knights and squires. The battle lasted but half an hour. The King's artillery, by which his position should have been so well defended, "avayled nat, for that day was so grete rayne that the gonnes lay depe in the water and so were queyut and myghte nat be shott." [2] Nevertheless Henry's strong entrenchments would have given the Yorkists much trouble to gain had not treachery come to their aid. When March led his attack through the heavy rain on the Royalist left wing, Lord Grey de Ruthyn and his men, instead of withstanding him, displayed Warwick's badge of the Ragged Staff and helped the assailants over the barrier. Once within the camp March was quickly able to clear the way for the entrance of the rest. The day was lost for Henry. Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Beaumont and Egremont were all slain in the last rally round the King's tent. Sir William Lucy, "that goode knyght . . . that dwellyd besyde Northe-

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, 244.
[2] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 97.

hampton, hyrde the gonne schotte and come unto the fylde to have holpyn the kynge," but "at his first approche was striken in the hed with an axe." [1] About three hundred others of the King's men perished, many being drowned in the flooded river Nene, by the mill. Henry, with his usual aversion to fleeing from his own subjects, remained in his tent, and, "left alone disconsolate, was taken and apprehended as a man borne and predestinate to troble, misery and calamite." [2]

A ballad of the time tells of the battle of Northampton under the guise of a hunt or bear-baiting, in which the bear (Warwick) and his bear-ward [3] (March) turn upon the huntsman (King Henry) and his dogs (Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and others), and incidentally kill a buck (the Duke of Buckingham).

"Now shal ye here a marvelous case,
. . . . . .
The Bereward and the Bere thei did the Dogges chace
And put theyme to flight, to gret confucioune.
. . . . . .
Talbot ontrewe was the oon Dogges name,
Rauling Bewmond anodre, I understonde,
The third also was made ful tame,
He was called bolde Egremonde.
When the Bereward come to the grounde
Where he chased the foresaid leese,[4]
Amonge alle other a Buk he founde,
The wh che was hye and fat of greese.
The coriages Berward put hym ferre in preese
To the Hunt [5] oure Kyng he hyed hym ful fast.

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 207.
[2] Hall's *Chronicle*, 244.
[3] The keeper of the bear was called the bear ward.
[4] Leash of hounds. [5] Huntsman.

The Bere, for alle the Dogges wold not seese
But hyed hym sone afftre swyfftly in hast.
The Dogges barked at hem ful faste,
The Buk sat up his hornes on hye,
The Berward thei cryed ther wold downe cast,
The Bere also, if that he come nye.
The Bereward asked no questione why
But on the Dogges he set fulle rounde;
The Bere made the Dogges to cry,
And w^t^ his pawme cast theyme to grounde.
The game was done in a little stounde,
The Buk was slayne and borne a-way;
A-gayne the Bere than was none hounde
But he might sporte and take his play.
But the Hunt [1] he saved from harme th^t^ day,
He thought never other in alle his mynde,
He lowted downe and at his fote lay
In token to hym that he was kynde.
The Bereward also, the Hunters frende
Felle downe on kne, saying w^t^ obedience
'Souereyne lord, thenk us not unkynde
Nor take ye this in none offence.'

. . . . .

The Hunt answerid w^t^ gret mekenesse
'The Dogges wrought a-gayne alle kynde;
Thei labored to bryng me in distresse,
I was theire mayster and specialle frende.
The Buk ran be-fore, the Dogges be-hynde,
I folowed affter, I wist never why.'" [2]

A true description of Henry's situation!

After the battle Henry was ceremoniously escorted by Warwick and March into Northampton, where he stayed three days, after which the whole company proceeded to London, which was reached on 16 July. The King was lodged in the Bishop of London's Palace beside St. Paul's.

[1] Huntsman, the King. [2] *Archæologia*, xxix. 334.

Salisbury meanwhile had kept London, but had not yet reduced the Tower. As the same ballad says—

> "The Egle [1] from Londone was never remeving,
> But hovid and wayted upon his pray:
> Alle his delite was ever in fisshing,
> The Fisshe were closed in pyttes al way." [2]

The "fish" in this case were Lords Scales, Vesci, Lovell and Delaware, the Earl of Kendal and others. At length however—

> "The Fisshe was feynte and litelle of might,"

and three days after the triumphant return of Warwick with the King the Tower was forced to surrender through lack of supplies. The leaders made an attempt at flight, and—

> "Alle thei had scaped upon a nyght
> Save theire Skales were plucked a-way." [3]

Lord Scales, whose name is thus played upon, had taken a boat late in the evening and attempted to slip down the river unobserved to Westminster. But a woman saw him, and he was followed by a number of the Thames boatmen, who fell upon him and killed him, casting his body ashore by the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark. "And grete pyte it was," says the chronicler, "that so noble and so worshipful a knyghte, and so welle approved in the warrys of Normandy and France, shuld dy so myschevously." [4]

[1] Salisbury. [2] *Archæologia*, xxix. 334. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 98.

Warwick and March, who had not wished for his death, accorded him honourable burial. Of the rest in the Tower, Sir Thomas Brown of Kent and five others of Exeter's household, who had previously served under Warwick, were executed at Tyburn.

Queen Margaret and her son, who at the time of the battle of Northampton had left Coventry and gone to Eccleshall Castle for safety, on hearing of the defeat of the King's army fled towards Wales. Near Malpas in Cheshire they fell into the hands of John Clyer, servant of Lord Stanley, a man whom Margaret is said to have raised to office in her household, but who now robbed her of all her goods and threatened her life. She and the Prince, however, escaped, and riding for the most part behind a devoted young gentleman of fourteen named John Combe, reached Harlech Castle, the stronghold of Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, Henry's half-brother, where she was very well received.

Warwick and his companions, secure in having the King—and consequently the royal authority—in their hands, were now able to install themselves in power with all the appearance of loyalty and constitutional observance. An exclusively Yorkist ministry was appointed immediately upon their arrival in London. George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, became Chancellor, and Lord Bourchier Treasurer; Salisbury was made Lieutenant for the six Northern Counties which were not yet subdued; his son John Neville, now released from his imprisonment, became Chamberlain to the King; William Bourchier was appointed Constable of

the Tower, while Warwick became once more in name as well as in fact Captain of Calais. A Parliament was then summoned for 7 October, nearly three months ahead.

About 15 August Warwick returned to Calais for a short time, and armed with his new authority induced Somerset without difficulty to give up his vain struggle, and a pacification took place at Newnham Bridge. Afterwards, however, the Duke slipped away with Trollope and went to Dieppe, crossing quietly from there to England about 21 September, remaining in obscurity in the South until the Queen sent for him.

Warwick after this reconciliation returned to England, taking with him his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, and his wife Anne, both of whom had been left at Calais until the Yorkists had secured their position, and who now returned to the Neville house in London, at Cold Harbour.

Meanwhile James II of Scotland had taken advantage of the distracted state of England to besiege the town and castle of Roxburgh, and Fauconberg was sent north to defend it. James, however, met with an untimely fate on 3 August, being killed by the bursting of one of his own cannon—a penalty, as a later Scottish writer pointed out, for displaying more curiosity about the mechanism of his artillery than was becoming in a king. His army nevertheless reduced Roxburgh on the 8th, and also took Wark before they dispersed.

At last, early in September [1] 1460, York landed in

[1] The date is variously given as the 2nd or the 8th.

Cheshire, or South Lancashire,[1] and proceeded to Chester and Ludlow. But these months of delay had made a great difference in his attitude. The agreement made with Warwick in March had evidently been, judging from the latter's conduct, to maintain a loyal attitude of patriotic reform. This was what Warwick had acted upon, and at that time it expressed his own sincere position. But the success of Northampton and the apparently secure position of the Yorkists evidently proved too great a temptation for Richard's ambitious spirit. Whether he had treasured in secret the idea of a bid for the crown or not, from this time forward he never lost sight of it, and thus he took the step from avowed loyalty to open treason, from allegiance to the King's person and estate to the determination for his downfall. He did not, however, as yet make any open avowal of his aims, and people were divided in their opinions as to his true motive, some saying that he came to restore concord and reform the country, and others that he had designs against the King, and wished to vindicate his title as heir to the throne. His intention, however, was made sufficiently clear, shortly before his arrival in London, by his bold assumption of the Royal Arms. Henry does not seem to have been greatly disturbed by the news

[1] The *Chronicles* give as his landing-place "Redcliff" in Lancashire and "Redbanke" near Chester. Neither of these places appear to have survived. The only Redbank in that district is inland near Manchester: "Redcliff," *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 208; "Redbank," Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Hen. VI* (Rolls Ser.), II. ii. 774; "Apud littus rubeum," Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 376.

of his landing, for about this time he went down to Eltham and Greenwich "to hunt and sport hym there" until the opening of Parliament.[1] York did not hasten to London, but by "dyvers straunge commissions fro the Kyng"[2]—or perhaps from Warwick in the King's name—held sessions at Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Leicester, Coventry and other places.

The Duchess of York, now released from the irksome guardianship of her sister, went about the middle of September to Southwark, but when she had been there a few days her husband sent for her to come to him at Hereford, and she hastened to meet him, travelling in a chair covered with blue velvet. Her two younger sons, George and Richard, and her daughter, Margaret, remained behind, and were visited daily by their brother the Earl of March.[3] York at length reached Abingdon, and from there he rode into London on 10 October, preceded by heralds and trumpeters, having a sword carried before him in kingly style "with great pomp and no little exaltation of spirit."[4] Parliament had met three days before, and had lost no time in reversing the attainders of 1459. York, on his arrival with five hundred men,

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 525, let. 357. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] The Paston Letter 357, which mentions these events, is dated Oct. 12, which must clearly be an error. It would seem to have been written towards the end of September, for (i) York arrived in London on Oct. 10, and he is here spoken of as still being n the West or Midlands: (ii) Henry is said to be awaiting the opening of Parliament, which occurred on Oct. 7; (iii) Somerset s spoken of as being still at Dieppe, which he left "about the feast of St. Matthew," which falls on Sept. 21.

[4] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 376.

went straight to Westminster, and, entering Parliament, strode up to the royal throne, which was vacant, and placed his hand upon the cushion as if to seat himself, but observing how the Lords and people "ran together and looked," [1] he prudently drew back. Archbishop Bourchier, recovering from his astonishment, then approached and suggested that York should seek an audience with the King, whereupon the Duke haughtily and significantly replied that "he did not know of any one in the Kingdom whom it did not rather behove to come to him." [2] The Archbishop, much dismayed, hastily withdrew to tell the King of this strange happening. York, not content with this insult, then went to the Palace, and Henry, fortunately for himself, being in the Queen's apartments, Richard entered, "brak up the dores of the Kynges chambre," [3] and established himself there; nor would he consent to see Henry until a settlement had been arrived at.

But this time York had gone too far. Public opinion was outraged by his violent and insulting behaviour to the gentle King, and also by his sudden assumption of the royal claim, for which extreme measure they were not prepared. The people murmured against him, reminding each other of the many oaths which he had sworn to do nothing against the King or his estate. Moreover, Warwick was genuinely disturbed and indignant. The worthy Earl was by no means prepared to give his support to the rash and high-handed action of his ambitious uncle, and he remon-

[1] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 377.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 99.

strated with him in no mild terms. With his brother Thomas he went to the palace and treated York to many "hard words," as yet, however, without effect, whereupon he departed in wrath. On 16 October Richard laid before the House of Lords a formal claim to the throne, basing it upon his direct descent from Henry III. This action excited a good deal of discussion throughout the country, but, as usual, the majority of people did not put themselves to the trouble of forming a very definite opinion on the subject. "Ther is gret talkyng in thys contre," wrote Margaret Paston to her husband from Norfolk on 21 October, "of the desyir of my Lorde of York. The pepyll reporte full worchepfully of my Lord of Warwyk. They have no fer her but that he and othyr scholde schewe to[o] gret favor to hem that have be[en] rewyllers of thys contre be-for tyme." [1]

Meanwhile the Lords found themselves much embarrassed by York's bold claim. They took the matter to the King, and then tried to shift it on to the Judges. The latter, however, wished for no such responsibility and returned it to the Lords, saying that it was none of their business. The Lords, thus driven to bay, took refuge behind several carefully drawn up objections to York's action. They drew attention to the repeated oaths of allegiance taken by the Duke and also by themselves to Henry VI. They referred to the Acts of Parliament and the parliamentary entails by which the succession had been secured to the dynasty of Lancaster. Lastly,

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i. 532, let. 361.

they reiterated the claim by which Henry IV, grandfather of Henry VI, had established himself on the throne as the reputed heir of Henry III. They were not bold enough to assert in their defence the right of Parliament to settle the succession to the crown, if necessary even in opposition to hereditary right, which was the root of the matter. It was, however, clear from their reply that the Lords as a whole were quite unprepared to support York's claim, and that there was no real wish among them to depose Henry.

Richard was probably sagacious enough to see that he had been too precipitate, although he sent a determined protest to this reply. To the first objection he answered that oaths were not meant to support untruth and injustice, but at the same time he declared himself willing to submit to the opinion of spiritual judges on that point. According to Abbot Whethamstede he had again obtained absolution from his oaths from the Pope,[1] but if this had not been already accomplished he doubtless relied upon the friendship of Cardinal Coppini for the purpose. To the rest he replied haughtily that Acts of Parliament were of no avail to exclude rightful inheritors. In short, he emphasized the claim of heredity, as opposed to popular choice in the matter of the succession.

But his position was not strong enough to brave out the opposition of the Lords. The people did not show themselves to be decidedly for him. All the success he had hitherto won was due pre-eminently to the support of Warwick and his family, and he dared not

quarrel with them. Accordingly, as Warwick remained obdurate, Richard was induced on 25 October to agree to a compromise, to which Henry also consented, "in eschuyng of effusion of Christen blode, by good and sad deliberation and avyce had with all his Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx." [1] By this sufficiently remarkable arrangement Henry VI was to keep the crown for the remainder of his lifetime, after which it was to pass to Richard as the rightful heir to the throne, Prince Edward being entirely passed over. Richard was also to be immediately created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester. York and his sons then did homage to Henry on 31 October—on condition that the King should keep his part of the agreement—promising neither to "abridge Henry's life nor hurt his dignity." [2] The concord was completed the same day by a solemn service at St. Paul's, the people in the streets acclaiming King Henry and Warwick.

A week later York procured for himself the office of Protector, which seems an unnecessary assumption of authority seeing that there was no obvious need for such a minister.

It was strange that Henry should thus have been willing to pass over the rights of his own son. But utterly unambitious and unworldly as he was himself, and doubtless finding kingship a burden hard to endure —though not one that he could personally escape from, since he was an anointed king—he probably thought that he was inflicting no great ill upon his son in

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 378. [2] *Ibid.*

relieving him of the prospect of a throne. Possibly also he felt that Richard's claim was just, and that in acknowledging him as the rightful heir he was expiating the sins of his grandfather. For the rest he most likely consented to this—as he did to so many things—for the sake of peace.

All parties, however, had reckoned without Margaret. Far from consenting to the resignation of her son's rights, the outrage aroused in her a fury of maternal resentment which transformed her into a yet more implacable enemy of the House of York. From the time that her son's claims were set aside Margaret developed a ferocity and ruthlessness of purpose worthy of a tigress defending her young.

An attempt had evidently been made by her enemies to lure her to London by means of counterfeit tokens purporting to come from the King, as they had arranged before the battle of Northampton: "For the lordys wolde fayne hadde hyr unto London, for they knewe welle that alle the workyngys that were done growe by hyr, for she was more wyttyer then the kynge, and that apperythe by hys dedys."[1] However, the bearers of the tokens, who had been in Margaret's household and the King's, warned her of the stratagem and she remained in Wales. But upon hearing of the "Compromise" fury roused her to action, and she called her supporters to arms. Exeter, who had joined her in Wales, she sent to rouse the West; the Earl of Wiltshire, who must have just ventured to return from abroad, was left with Jasper of Pembroke

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 209.

to guard Wales, Jasper's father, Owen Tudor, being with them. Summonses were sent to the Earl of Devon and to Somerset, who, since his return to England at the end of September, had been living quietly at Corfe Castle in Dorset. Margaret herself, with Prince Edward, went north to Scotland, hoping to get help from there. The Queen-mother, Mary of Gueldres, and her eight-year-old son, King James III, were holding their Court at Lincluden Abbey near Dumfries, and there Margaret and her son were entertained.

Meanwhile the Lancastrian Lords, headed by the Earl of Northumberland, were assembling in the North of England. Lord Neville, brother of the Earl of Westmoreland, swelled the number of their followers by a wily stratagem. Going to the Duke of York with all the appearance of loyalty, he obtained from him a commission to raise a force to "chastyse the rebelles of the cuntre,"[1] but having raised about 8000 men on this pretence he marched with them to join the Lancastrians instead of chastising them, doubtless feeling that he and York differed as to which were the "rebelles." The Royalist Lords, Northumberland, Neville, Clifford, Roos, Dacre, Latimer[2] and Greystock, assembled at York, where they held a Council, and employed the rest of their time in harrying the Yorkshire estates of Duke Richard and the Earl of Salisbury. Exeter and Somerset, the latter disregarding his pacification with Warwick in France, raised the West country and marched north through

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 106.
[2] Brother of Salisbury.

Bath, Cirencester, Evesham and Coventry towards the rendezvous named by Margaret at Hull. By December, the Lancastrian host numbered about 15,000 men.

The Yorkists, although they must have known from the first that the North was disaffected towards them, had neglected to make their position secure there, and, in spite of Salisbury's appointment as Lieutenant of the Northern Counties, seem to have done nothing. They now became somewhat tardily aware of the dangerous gathering at York, which had assembled with great secrecy. Parliament was adjourned at the beginning of December, and York, having obtained the necessary authority from the King, set out for the North on the 9th of that month, accompanied by his second son, Edmund of Rutland, and the Earl of Salisbury, but taking with him only 6000 men, so little did he realize the strength of the Lancastrians. His eldest son, March, who had made his reputation at Northampton, was sent at the same time to raise a force on the Welsh Marches to keep in check the Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire, who were holding Wales for Margaret. Warwick and Norfolk remained in London with the King, evidently considering the matter of no great importance.

As York marched north Somerset and his western troops were so close at hand going in the same direction that at Worksop there was a slight skirmish, which, however, did not result in a general engagement. Northumberland and his companions had by this time advanced to Pontefract, and there Somerset joined

them, while York reached his castle of Sandal, about six miles distant, on 21 December. A truce extended over Christmas, which was kept by York and Salisbury at Sandal, doubtless with good cheer—little thinking that their days were destined to end with the year.

With regard to the conflict that followed a few days later the chroniclers differ. Several contemporary writers [1] state that on 30 December, as York's men were scouring the country in search of provisions, presumably near Wakefield, since the battle took its name from that town, they were suddenly attacked unawares by the Lancastrians. One chronicler [2] points out that this was a violation of the truce, which was supposed to extend to the Epiphany, but the others do not mention it. An entirely different account, however, is given by Hall, who, although a much later writer and not always reliable, may have had trustworthy information in this case, since an ancestor of his was killed on the field. The Lancastrians, he says,[3] marched from Pontefract to Sandal and challenged York to come forth, and the Duke, although weak in forces, was ashamed to refuse "for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapon is onely her toungue and her nayles," and rashly determined to fight. But while the Duke was marching round the Castle Hill, the Lancastrians advanced their wings and, when he attacked their centre, took him like "a

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 107; Stevenson, *Letters and Papers of Reign of Hen. VI* (Rolls Ser.), II. ii. 775 (Dec. 29); Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 382.

[2] *Three Fifteenth-Century Chrons.* (ed. Gairdner), 154.

[3] Hall's *Chronicle*, 250.

deere in a buckestall " [1] on both flanks, and destroyed his army in half an hour.

But whichever of these accounts is true the result was disaster to the Yorkists, who were completely outnumbered. A general slaughter followed, 2500 of the Duke's men being slain, together with Sir Thomas Neville, Salisbury's son, Lord Harrington, Warwick's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Harrington and others, including the leaders themselves. The Lancastrians rioted in vengeance. York, being taken, was set upon an ant-hill and crowned with a wreath of grass, while his captors bent mockingly before him, crying " Hail, King without a kingdom ! " after which he was beheaded and his head set upon a pike.[2] The young Earl of Rutland, fleeing for his life, was slain upon the bridge of Wakefield by Lord Clifford in revenge for his father's death at St. Albans. Salisbury was captured the same evening by a servant of Trollope and taken to Pontefract. There on the following day he was beheaded, as some say, by the Bastard of Exeter; according to another writer, however, he bought his life for a large sum of money, but the " commune peple of the cuntre whyche loved hym nat, tooke hym oute of the castelle by violence and smote of his hed." [3] Such was the vengeance wreaked upon the Yorkists. The Lancastrians are said to have lost only two hundred men in the engagement. The heads of Salisbury, Rutland and York, the last decorated

[1] A net for catching deer.
[2] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 382.
[3] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 107.

with a paper crown, were set over the south gate of York.

It seems that Margaret only reached York on her return from Scotland after the battle of Wakefield was over. The ruthless and brutal character which the war now assumed must be largely attributed to the composition of her army, which seems to have included all the wildest elements of the North, with the lawless men of the Scottish borders and all the riff-raff who joined them for the sake of plunder, for it was rumoured that she had given them permission to rob the south-eastern counties at their pleasure. With her usual lack of perception, Margaret did not foresee that this lawless host would ruin the prospects of herself and her husband by the hostility which their excesses aroused. By the end of January bitter complaints were already heard of their misdeeds: "In this country," writes Clement Paston, presumably from East Anglia, "every man is well willing to go with my Lords here,[1] and I hope God shall help them, for the people in the north rob and steal and be appointed to pillage all this country and give away men's goods and livelihoods in all the south country, and that will ask a mischief. My Lords that are here have as much as they may do to keep down all this country, more than four or five shires, for they would be up on the men in the north, for it is for the well of all the south." [2]

Warwick was now in a more prominent position than ever as the only experienced leader left to the Yorkists.

[1] The Yorkists, probably the Duke of Norfolk and others.

[2] *Paston Letters* ed. Gairdner), i. 540, let. 367.

He was in his thirty-third year and at the height of his popularity. The death of his father, while it greatly embittered his strife with the Queen, brought more additions to his power, for the broad lands of the Earldom of Salisbury were now added to his own immense domains as Earl of Warwick. His territorial position was without a rival. His political position, however, was difficult. Recognized by the people as the champion of reform from the most patriotic and disinterested motives, still professing loyalty to Henry VI, he was yet being rapidly forced, almost against his will, into antagonism to Henry's very sovereignty. He had been able to prevent Richard from pushing his claim to the throne to extremes, but now, by the deliberate executions of Wakefield, the feud had deepened beyond all hope of reconciliation, and Richard's eldest son, the young Edward of March, might be expected to take up his father's pretensions with vigour, for he was as ambitious as his sire without being endowed with the Duke's more solid and scrupulous qualities. For this reason Richard's death was a loss to the country, for he would undoubtedly have made a better and wiser ruler than his vain and impetuous son, whose qualities were solely those of a brilliant soldier.

As yet, however, Warwick continued to rule in the name of King Henry, and, in his own interests, to protect him from the actions of his misguided wife. York's two younger sons, George and Richard—the future Richard III—he sent abroad for safety, to the

Court of the Duke of Burgundy, who received them most graciously.[1]

The young Edward of March, meanwhile, had been enhancing his reputation as a general. After keeping his Christmas at Shrewsbury, he moved south into Herefordshire, and on 2 February encountered the Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire, with the Welshmen who had rallied to the Queen's cause, at Mortimer's Cross, between Wigmore and Leominster. The Earls, being considerably outnumbered, were defeated and put to flight with heavy loss. Jasper of Pembroke escaped, but his father, Owen Tudor, stepfather to Henry VI, was taken. Edward, probably burning to avenge the slaughter of his father and brother, caused Owen to be beheaded in the market-place at Hereford, "weyng and trustyng all eway that he shulde not be hedyd tylle he sawe the axe and the blocke; and whenn that he was in hys dobbelet he trustyd on pardon and grace tylle the coler of hys redde vellvet dobbelet was ryppyd of. Then he sayde, 'That hede shalle ly on the stocke that was wonte to ly on Quene Kateryns lappe' . . . and fulle mekely toke hys dethe." His head was set upon the highest "gryce"[2] of the market cross, and "a mad woman combed his hair and washed away the blood off his face, and she got candles and set about him burning, more than a hundred."[3] Thus perished the grandfather of Henry VII. Edward,

[1] His son, Charles the Bold, afterwards married their sister Margaret.

[2] Step.

[3] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 211.

still pursuing his vengeance, slew also John Throgmorton and eight other captives.

Early in 1461 Margaret began to march south with her unruly army, numbering about 80,000 men, in such "inflation of spirit" that they considered "one of them quite sufficient to subjugate a thousand from the south."[1] Before setting out, Warwick's cousins of the Westmoreland branch had followed the general example by plundering his newly inherited estates. The army moved south, leaving a trail of ruin behind it. Grantham, Stamford, Peterboro', Huntingdon, Melbourne and Royston were sacked one after the other, the soldiers robbing the country and its inhabitants all around, and "spoiling Abbeys and houses of religion and churches . . . as they had been Paynims or Saracens and no Christian men,"[2] to the consternation of every one and the detriment of Margaret's cause. Reaching Dunstable on 16 February, they fell in with a Yorkist troop under Edward Poynings; his men were dispersed and himself killed with two hundred of them.

Meanwhile, on 28 January, Warwick had issued summonses to his friends in the King's name, commanding them to raise forces in all possible haste and join him against the "mysruled and outerageous people in the north parties of this reaume," who were "comyng towards thees parties to the destruction therof, of you, and the subversion of all our lande." A goodly company of his relatives and friends having assembled,

[1] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 388.
[2] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 107.

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Warwick left London and went to St. Albans on 12 February, accompanied by his brother John, his other brother the Bishop of Exeter, his brother-in-law the Earl of Arundel, Lord Bourchier, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and others. King Henry was also persuaded—or compelled—to accompany them to lend them the prestige of his presence. The Yorkist camp was pitched on Barnard's Heath, between St. Albans and Sandridge, the outposts extending into the former town, and the position being strengthened with " many a gynne of wer." Warwick's archers were provided with wondrous arrows " with six feathers, three in the midst and three at the other end, with a great mighty head of iron at the other end, and wild fire withal "; but the unfortunate thing about these weapons was that when they tried to discharge them " the fyre turnyd backe a-pon them that wold schute." [1] There were also nets spread on the ground, with a nail standing upright at every two knots; and " pavys "—large shields—which were stuck " as full of 3^{d} nails as they might stand," from behind which the archers discharged their shots and afterwards threw them down, so that any one coming over the said 3^{d} nails " wolde myschyffe hym sylfe." [2] All these preparations, however, seem to have rather failed of their due effect when the time came.

On 17 February Margaret came up from Dunstable, which had also been sacked, and found herself at three o'clock in the morning at the village of St. Michaels, on the outskirts of St. Albans, at the bottom of the

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 213. [2] *Ibid.*

hill to the south-west of the town. Warwick's army was encamped outside the opposite end of the town, on the crest of the rising ground. When day came Margaret's soldiers pressed their way up the long and winding Fishpool Street from St. Michaels to the centre of the town,[1] but upon approaching the market cross they met with a body of Warwick's archers, who drove them back down the hill.

This first attack having failed, the Lancastrians took fresh courage and advanced to the attack by a different route. Working round " by the lane leading north to St. Peter's Street," now represented by Folly Lane and Catherine Street, and breaking in upon Warwick's men in the open space below St. Peter's Church, they drove them up the street and out on to the heath. Warwick, whose scouts had misinformed him with regard to Margaret's proximity, seems not to have been fully prepared for this attack, and his line once broken he could not properly form it again on the bushy and broken ground of the heath. His men fought hard for a time, but at length Lovelace, who had fought on the Lancastrian side at Wakefield and had only recently joined the Yorkists, drew off with a body of Kentish men, which so disconcerted Warwick's vanguard that, becoming insubordinate, they broke and fled into what cover they could find. Warwick, seeing that the day was going ill, withdrew King Henry to a common called No Man's Land, an open place about three miles from St. Albans. The main body of the Yorkists held out until nightfall, when they also fled, and Margaret's

[1] See map opposite p. 256.

field was won. Warwick finding that Henry, far from having spirit or mind to encourage his men, was wishing—as might have been expected—to rejoin his wife, prudently retired with the remnants of his army, leaving Henry to his own devices. When Margaret's men came up they found the King sitting under an oak tree, "smiling to see the discomfiture of the army." [1] He was taken to the tent of Lord Clifford, and the Queen and Prince brought to him there, whereupon, greatly rejoicing, he took them in his arms and kissed them, thanking God.[2]

On the following day little Prince Edward, arrayed in a purple-velvet brigandine adorned with goldsmith's work, received his father's blessing and was solemnly knighted, although he was only in his eighth year. Andrew Trollope, who had been hurt in the foot by a caltrap,[3] was also knighted, protesting that he did not deserve the honour, for, he said, "I slowe but xv men, for I stode stylle in oo place and they come unto me, but they bode stylle with me." [4] Margaret, who seems to have imbibed the spirit of the Northern men, improved the occasion by bringing up two prisoners, Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriel, for judgment before her son, making the child "jugge ys owne sylfe" and condemn them to death. Bonville, the old-time disturber of the peace in the West, evidently gave vent to his feelings, for, says one chronicler, "hys longage

[1] Oman, *Warwick the King-maker*, 105.

[2] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 393.

[3] An instrument of iron, like a ball set with spikes, to wound horses' feet.

[4] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 214.

causyd hym to dye "[1]; while Kyriel—the veteran of Formigny—called down a curse upon the Queen's head for teaching the child such iniquity.

Warwick's brother Montagu was also taken but afterwards released, probably at the King's command, seeing that he was his chamberlain.

Henry was able to save the Abbey of St. Albans from plunder, which must have been a matter of some difficulty, but all his influence was unable to prevent the unhappy town being sacked a second time.

Success now seemed in Margaret's hands, and a rapid advance on London might have reinstated her in power, and, for a time at any rate, saved Henry's tottering throne. No one with authority remained in London. Archbishop Bourchier, with the Chancellor, George, Bishop of Exeter, had withdrawn to Canterbury to await better news. Warwick had gone westward with the remainder of his men to seek Edward of March. London was undefended. But a strange inactivity on the part of the Lancastrians followed. It is said that Henry, horrified at the excesses of the troops, refused, regardless of his own interests, to allow them to advance. If so it was a creditable action on his part, though it cost him his crown. Margaret's army, in fact, proved her undoing, for the whole South was filled with fear and dread of the depredations of the wild Northmen. Rumours flew about that the Queen had given permission for the city to be sacked. The Duchess of Buckingham,

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 212.

"with othyr wytty men with her,"[1] was sent from London to Barnet, to negotiate with the King and Queen, who were there. Within the city opinion was divided; some of the aldermen would have permitted Somerset to enter with a small band, but the people of London, hearing of their approach, sallied forth and put them to flight, not without bloodshed, after which, for the safety of the city, the "commoners" took possession of the keys of the gates to prevent further danger. As a result of the negotiations of the Duchess of Buckingham the Mayor agreed to send money and provisions to the Lancastrians. But when the convoy set out the Londoners, getting wind of the matter, led by one John Bishop, chief cook to Sir John Wenlock, fell upon the wagons at Newgate and, overpowering the drivers, "departyd the brede and vytayle a-monge the comyns."[2] The money disappeared. The Queen, enraged by this mishap, immediately dispatched Sir Baldwin Fulford and Sir Alexander Hody with a large body of men to Westminster, probably with a view to attempting an entrance on that side. But she had hesitated too long.

Warwick had lost no time since his reverse at St. Albans. He hastened westward to meet the young victor of Mortimer's Cross, who had already started from the neighbourhood of Gloucester and was coming towards London. On 22 February, five days

[1] *English Chronicle* (ed. J. S. Davies), 109.
[2] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 214.

after the battle of St. Albans, a junction was effected at Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire, or, according to one authority, at Burford-on-the-Wold near by. The two cousins had not met since the death of their respective fathers on the fatal day of Wakefield, and their feelings must have been sombre. They were, however, cheered much by the unexpected news of the determined opposition of the commoners of London to Margaret's entry; doubtless they had expected to find her already firmly installed there. This not being the case, Warwick and Edward decided to march on London with all possible speed. The news of their coming preceded them, and the citizens openly rejoiced at the tidings. Margaret's discomfiture was completed and Fulford was recalled from Westminster. Seeing that the situation was now hopeless, she fell back with Henry to Dunstable and retired northwards, the army robbing and plundering as before, and carrying off everything they could lay hands on, down to spoons, pots and plates. William Grey, Bishop of Ely, only saved his cathedral by raising a small army and garrisoning the Isle of Ely and Wisbech against them.

But Henry's throne was lost. Edward reached London about 27 February with a considerable army, and, entering the city, took up his quarters at Baynard's Castle. Warwick at last had arrived at the cross-roads and had to choose between loyalty to Henry or support of his cousin's claim to the crown. But now he was almost forced to take the second course. Experience had shown that it was hopeless to attempt to force administrative reforms upon Henry while Margaret

was there to destroy them at the first possible minute. It was Margaret who brought about Henry's ruin. The King was the passive emblem of authority, passed about from hand to hand as though he had been the Great Seal. Now that Margaret had the King once more in her hands she would undoubtedly use his authority at the first available opportunity for the destruction of Warwick and Edward. No mercy was to be looked for at her hands, and even if Henry's influence was strong enough to withstand his wife's designs, there was no good reason to suppose that he would wish to exert it in favour of these two lords, for whom he had not displayed any affection. Moreover, as another heavy strain on Warwick's loyalty, the blood of his father and his uncle had stained Lancastrian hands, and he could not as yet forget it. Margaret, the obstacle to all peace and reform, could not be removed without involving Henry in her overthrow; therefore Warwick was forced to decide—we may believe, from his former conduct, reluctantly—that it was necessary to consent to Henry's downfall also. Rather than allow the chaotic state of affairs of the last ten years to continue, it would seem better to sacrifice the Lancastrian dynasty and give the country a fresh chance under a new king—and one who, after all, was the direct heir. There was no chance for Warwick with Lancaster; if he did not support the Yorkist cause to its logical conclusion he must be content to give up his lifelong struggle for reform. Thus Warwick became the "King-maker."

On 1 March, 1461 the Chancellor, Neville, addressed

a great concourse of the citizens of London in Clerkenwell Fields, while the Yorkist soldiers kept order. He publicly explained Edward's title, and solemnly declared his claim to the throne of England, an announcement which met with demonstrations of approval. In order to give a sort of legality to the proceedings, a few Yorkist Lords who were near at hand were hastily summoned to London, and these, consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the three Nevilles—Warwick, Fauconberg and the Bishop of Exeter—the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Fitzwalter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley and the Bishop of Salisbury, held a Council on 3 March at Baynard's Castle, together with a few knights and a deputation of London citizens. It was there decided that Edward should assume the crown as the rightful ruler by descent. Accordingly on the following day Edward, a tall and valiant youth in his twentieth year, rode in state to St. Paul's, and thence to Westminster Hall, where he addressed the assembled multitude from the throne. His claim being again received with the acclamations of all present, he proceeded into the abbey, where he received the crown and sceptre of England as Edward IV, and as such was proclaimed throughout London.

CHAPTER X

1461–1471 : HENRY AND MARGARET IN EXILE— RESTORATION AND DEATH OF HENRY VI

In spite of the formal deposition of Henry VI, sanctioned apparently by the City of London, Margaret's energy kept the conflict alive for three years longer. Had she been less ambitious and determined her unfortunate husband might have ended his days comfortably in a monastery, or some other peaceful spot, instead of in the Tower. But Margaret, in her thirty-third year and retaining her youthful beauty, still wielded considerable influence, especially in the North, and would not give up her queenship without a prolonged struggle. She had withdrawn northwards with her army, but she was not defeated, and Edward knew well that he must lose no time in breaking her strength if he had any desire to make his position on the throne secure.

The very day after his "accession," accordingly, Norfolk was dispatched to East Anglia to collect forces; on 6 March Warwick set out northwards for the same purpose; another week sufficed to collect the men of the South-East, the Welsh Marches and the Midlands.

"The White Ship of Brystow,[1] he feryd not that fray,
The Black Ram of Coventre, he said not one nay;
. . . . . .

[1] The "white ship" of Bristol, displayed on the banner of the town. The other towns are similarly represented by their bearings.

The Wolf cam fro Worcetre, ful sore he thought to byte,
The Dragon cam fro Glowscetre, he bent his tayle to smyte;
The Griffon cam fro Leycestre, fleying in as tyte,[1]
The George cam fro Notyngham w^t spere for to fyte.
. . . . . .
The Wild Rat fro Northamptone w^t hur brode nose;
There was many a fayre pynone, wayting upon the Rose;[2]
Blessid be the tyme that ever God sped that floure!"[3]

On 12 or 13 March 1461, therefore, Edward set out from London with many Yorkist Lords and a large army. Hurrying north and overtaking Warwick he reached Pontefract on the 27th and there paused. The Lancastrians were near at hand in full force, covering the roads to York, where Henry, with his wife and son, was stationed. Their army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Towton, with the river Aire between them and the advancing Yorkists. The vanguard of Henry's army, under the command of Lord Clifford, held the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge.

On Saturday the 28th Lord Fitzwalter was sent by Edward to attack this position, and a sharp skirmish followed, in which Fitzwalter was killed and Warwick wounded in the leg by an arrow. However, another detachment of Yorkists succeeded in crossing the river without opposition at Castleford, three miles further up, whereupon Clifford, finding his flank unexpectedly threatened, fell back hastily towards the main army. But so hot was the pursuit that he was overtaken at Dintingdale, near the village of Saxton,

[1] "In estate," *i.e.* in his dignity.

[2] Edward IV, called the "Rose of Rouen," from the town where he was born.

[3] *Archæologia*, 1842, xxix. 346–7.

and Clifford himself slain, with Lord Neville [1] and many of their men.

The whole of Edward's army now crossed the Aire and advanced towards Saxton, and on Palm Sunday, 29 March, it was drawn up to the east of that village, with the little valley of Dintingdale in front, and the village of Scarthingwell on the right. The vanguard on the left was led by the valiant little Fauconberg, "that second Achilles" [2]; Warwick and Edward were in the centre, while Norfolk and his men, who should have formed the right wing, had not yet arrived. The Lancastrians held a strong but slightly cramped position opposite, on the high ground in front of Towton, with the flooded stream of the Cock on their right, and the high road from Ferrybridge to Towton—a danger rather than a protection—on their left. Henry, who seems to have felt objections to fighting on a Sunday, was left at York, ten miles away, where he occupied himself in hearing Mass at the minster.

Before the battle Edward made proclamation that no quarter was to be given, and about nine o'clock in the morning his army advanced to the attack, crossing Dintingdale and pushing up the opposite slope. At the moment when the two armies came within hail of each other and raised a loud shout, a sudden snow squall sprang up, and being driven by the wind full in the faces of the Lancastrians, "their sight was somewhat blemished and minished." [3] Fauconberg,

[1] John, brother of the Earl of Westmoreland.

[2] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 410.

[3] Hall's *Chronicle*, 253.

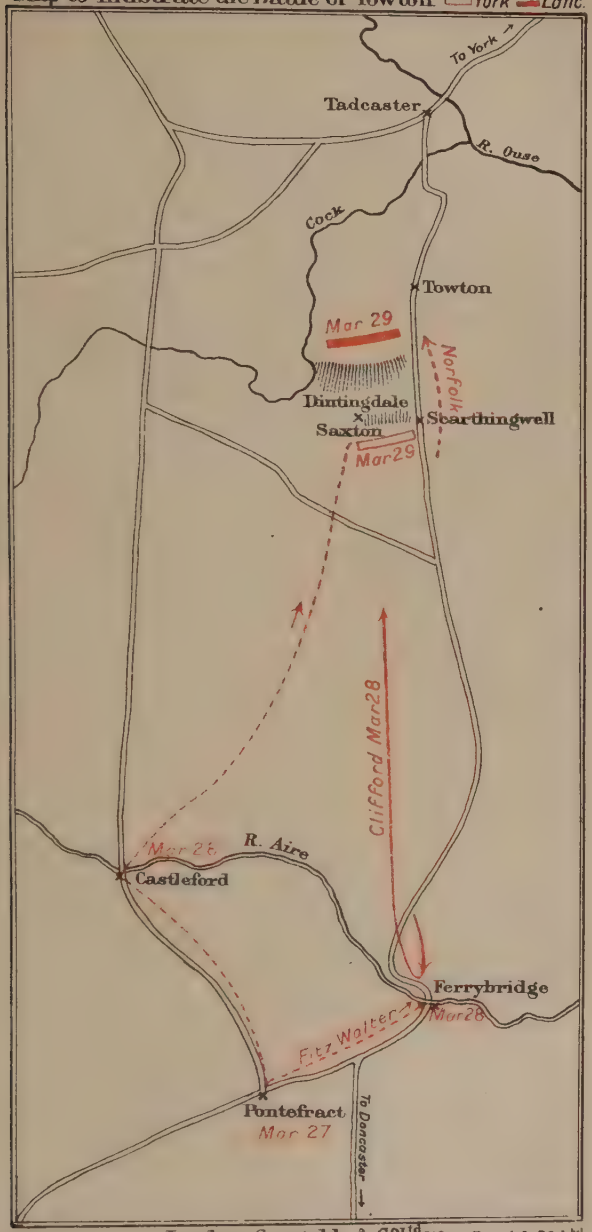
seizing his advantage, sent forward his archers, who with the wind behind them shot into the enemy's ranks and then retired, while the latter, blinded by the blizzard and unable to see where the Yorkists were, wasted their shots upon the bare ground. When their shooting ceased Fauconberg's men again advanced and, gathering up the arrows, appropriated some and stuck others upright in the ground, "which sore noyed the legges of the owners when the battayle ioyned." [1] All the morning the Yorkists fought their way doggedly up the slope, and the battle, which excelled all previous engagements of the war in numbers engaged, in fierceness of fighting and in slaughter, was waged on the hill-top with varying success. Part of the Yorkist left wing was driven back and pursued with more zeal than discretion by Lord Rivers and Andrew Trollope. Northumberland, however, who commanded the Lancastrian centre, was unable to follow up this success, for he had as much as he could do to cope with Warwick and Edward. The fight was always hottest round Warwick, who bore himself as "a new Hector." [2] The advance of Rivers and Trollope therefore merely caused a dislocation of the Lancastrian line.

Finally, the tide was turned by the arrival of Norfolk on the Yorkist right wing. He seems to have been delayed in collecting his troops in the East, or possibly by the indisposition of the previous day attributed to him by Hall. Turning the Lancastrian left wing by the high road, he thus cut off their retreat to Towton

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, 256.

[2] Whethamstede, *Reg. Mon. St. Albani* (Rolls Ser.), i. 409.

Map to illustrate the Battle of Towton York Lanc.



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and drove them back westwards upon the Cock, a stream "not very broade but of a great deapnes," [1] and which proved the undoing of many. For several hours longer the Lancastrians stubbornly contested the ground, but at length they broke and fled, the Yorkists pursuing them with merciless slaughter. Thousands were drowned in the Cock or slain where they were overtaken, for none were spared. A running fight was maintained all through the night, up to the very gates of York, and all the way the snow was stained with blood. According to the *Paston Letters* twenty-eight thousand fell in the battle, numbered by heralds.[2] On Henry's side were slain Northumberland, Beaumont, Dacre, Trollope and many other Northern Lords. The Bastard of Exeter and the Earl of Devon, who "was seke"—doubtless wounded—were taken and afterwards beheaded. Henry, with Margaret and the Prince, accompanied by Somerset, Exeter and several others who had escaped from the battle, fled from York on the Sunday evening, "fulle of sorowe and hevynys, no wondyr." [3]

Next morning Edward entered York, where he was received "with gret solempnyte and processyons," [4] and taking down the heads of his relatives from the gate, replaced them by those of Devon and three others. After remaining in the city for several weeks he advanced towards the end of April to Durham,

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, 256.
[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 6, let. 385.
[3] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 217.
[4] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 5, let. 385.

and thence, at the beginning of May, to Newcastle. There he beheaded the Earl of Wiltshire, who had been captured shortly before at Cockermouth, and sent his head to London to be set on the bridge. Henry and Margaret lingered in England as long as possible, and in the middle of April Henry, at any rate, seems to have been still in Yorkshire. "I heard," wrote Thomas Playters to John Paston, "that Henry the sixth is in a place in Yorkshire called Coroumbe; such a name it hath or much like. And there is siege laid about, and divers squires of the Earl of Northumberland's gathered them together five or six thousand men to bicker with the siege, that in the meanwhile Henry the sixth might have been stole away at a little postern on the back side; at which bicker were slain three thousand men of the north. . . . Some say the Queen, Somerset and the Prince should be there." [1]

Evidently Henry had a narrow escape. As Edward advanced the fugitives retreated from Newcastle to Alnwick, and finally thence to Berwick, but there Margaret made another of those remarkable mistakes to which she was prone, and which could not fail to rouse feeling against her in England. In order to gain the goodwill of the Scottish Court and persuade them to grant her help she handed over to the Scots that cherished town, the bulwark of the English border, on 25 April. Even Henry had the intelligence to see that this was going too far, and is said only to have consented to it against his better judgment, "constrained

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 7 let. 386.

thereunto in this extreme misery."[1] This done, however, the fugitives were allowed to take refuge in Scotland. They were given shelter at the Black-friars in Edinburgh, and also at the stately palace of Linlithgow, but their favourable reception was not destined to last very long. Edward, finding that they were beyond his reach, left Warwick and Montagu to keep guard in the North, and after a progress through the Midlands returned to London, where he was crowned with due solemnity on 28 June, 1461.

Meanwhile the Scots, roused by Margaret, crossed the border at the end of May or the beginning of June, and laid siege to Carlisle. Montagu, however, raised the siege and beat them off with heavy loss. In June also, Henry in person led an army into England, penetrating as far south as Brancepeth in Durham, but on the 26th he was driven back.

The position of the Lancastrians in Scotland was far from secure, in spite of the support bought by the surrender of Berwick. Edward IV was not content to leave them there without an effort to dislodge them by diplomatic methods, and he had various means of influencing affairs in his favour in that country. In the first place the Queen-mother, Mary of Gueldres, was the niece of Philip of Burgundy, with whom Edward was on very friendly terms. He therefore induced Philip to use all his influence with Mary to win her over to the Yorkist cause—an object which was presently accomplished. Besides this, as crowned and acknow-

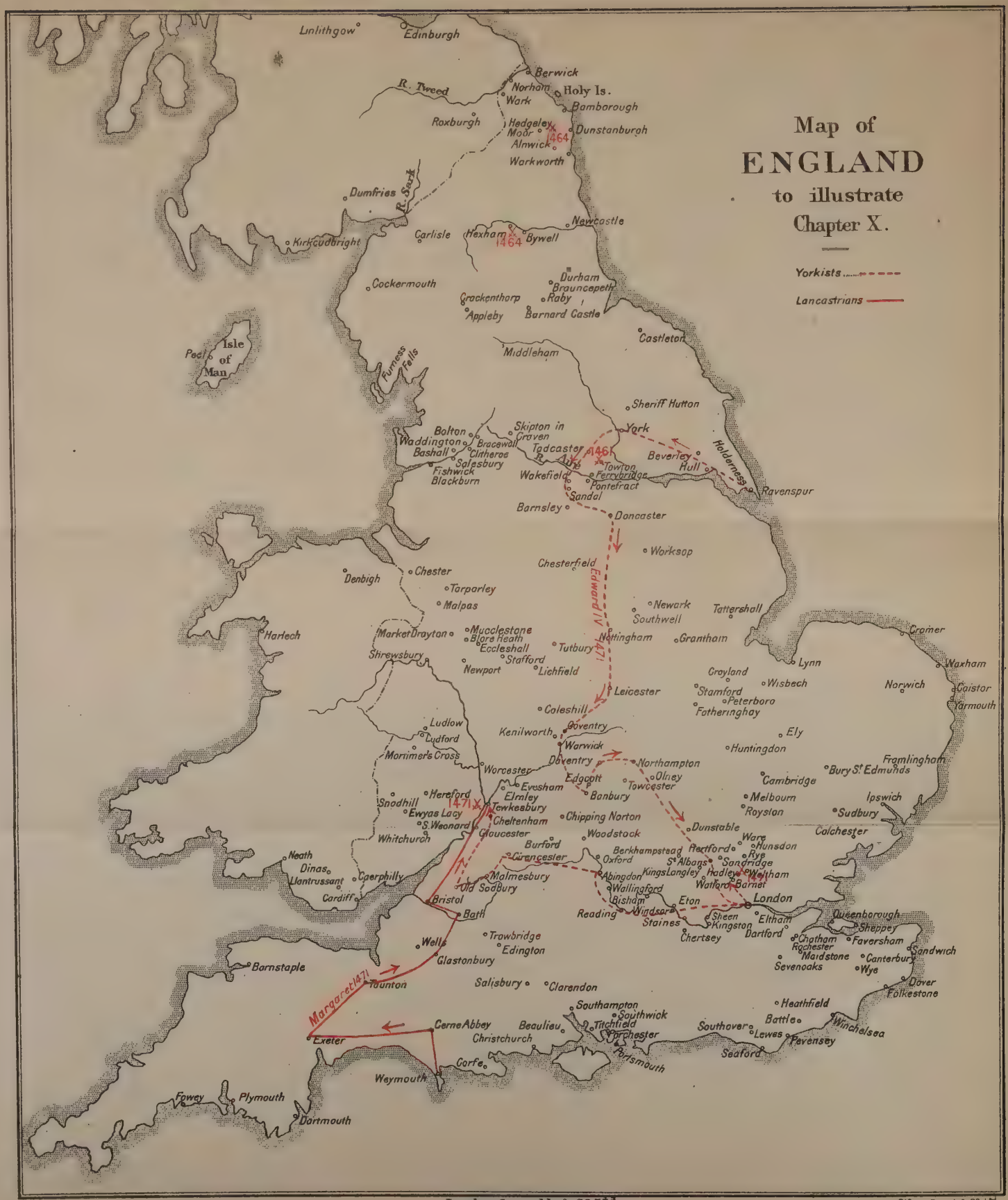
[1] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 112.

ledged King of England Edward was able to work upon the official government of James III to aid him against his "traitors"; and thirdly, through the Earl of Douglas, who was an exile in England, he was able to conclude an alliance with John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, and thus threaten the Scots with trouble from the Celts in the West. Thus, after a while, Margaret and her husband found that their welcome at the Scottish Court began to be outworn. Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, however, always a stout Lancastrian, remained their friend, although he was unable to carry out the project of a marriage between Prince Edward and the sister of James III. For some time they were permitted to wander about from place to place in Scotland. Towards the end of August 1461 Henry was at Kirkcudbright, "with iiij men and a childe,"[1] while Margaret and her son were at Edinburgh with Lord Roos, Sir John Fortescue and all her followers. Margaret evidently stayed for some time at Dunfermline also, and there made herself both popular and useful in a more peaceful way than was usual with her, for she was commemorated by the couplet—

> "May God bless Margaret of Anjou,
> For she taught our Dunfermline webster to sew."[2]

By October 1461 Edward's position seemed fairly secure. The North appeared to be quieted, and in Wales only the stronghold of Harlech still held out.

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 46, let. 413.
[2] Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, ii. 247.



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Jasper of Pembroke and the Duke of Exeter were hiding in the mountains. In November, Edward's first Parliament met and passed drastic measures against the Lancastrians. Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI were declared usurpers; Henry VI, with his wife and son, and all the Lancastrian Lords alive or dead who had fought for him at Wakefield and the battles since, together with various others—in all about one hundred and thirty persons—were declared attainted and their estates forfeited. The unfortunate Henry was also declared guilty of treason for fighting against his lawful king, and for giving up Berwick to the Scots.

But Margaret, finding that little help was to be obtained from Scotland, turned to France. In July 1461 Somerset, Hungerford and Whittingham were sent over to that country, but before they arrived Charles VII had died, and as the new King, Louis XI, was at that time at the Court of Philip of Burgundy, he dared not offend that Yorkist Duke by receiving Margaret's envoys with any cordiality.

Accordingly Somerset was kept in ward at the castle of Arques in Normandy, while his two companions were detained at Dieppe. They were still situated thus at the end of August, when Hungerford and Whittingham wrote to Margaret explaining the situation, but expressing a hope that they would be allowed an audience with Louis in a few days' time. "Madam, fear you not," they concluded, "but be of good comfort, and beware that you adventure not your person, nor my Lord Prince, by the sea, till you have other

word from us, unless that your person cannot be sure [secure] there as ye are, and that extreme necessity drive you thence; and for God's sake the King's Highness be advised the same. For, as we be informed, the Earl of March [1] is into Wales by land, and hath sent his navy thither by sea; and, Madam, think verily, we shall not sooner be delivered but that we will come straight to you, without death take us by the way, the which we trust he will not till we see the King and you peaceably again in your realm." [2] In the end the three Ambassadors were released with empty promises, and in March 1462 they returned to Scotland by way of Flanders.

Conspiracy had been rife in England in the meantime, and in February John, Earl of Oxford, with his son and three others, was arrested and executed on Tower Hill for receiving letters from Margaret. It was also rumoured about the same time that the Lancastrians were meditating a threefold invasion, Somerset with one army from Scotland, a second army from Wales, and a third from Jersey and Guernsey. But Margaret, nothing daunted by the failure of her envoys, and finding her position in Scotland impossible, on 2 April herself embarked for France, sailing from Kirkcudbright with four ships and journeying to Brittany. Upon landing there she was well received by the Duke, and proceeded to seek Louis XI at Bordeaux and finally at Chinon. But that wily monarch was not anxious to embroil himself with

[1] Edward IV, whom they did not recognize as king.
[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 46, let. 413.

Edward IV, and in order to wring from him any assistance Margaret was obliged to promise him the town of Calais. Unlike Berwick, however, Calais was not in her possession, and Louis had to take his chance of being able to capture it. On this rather doubtful security he advanced Margaret twenty thousand livres. Her old friend Pierre de Brézé, whom Louis was quite willing to be rid of—and indeed released from prison for the purpose—joined her with about eight hundred men, and with that small help she was forced to be content.

Immediately after Margaret's departure from Scotland, Mary of Gueldres had received Warwick at Dumfries, with the Earl of Essex, Sir John Wenlock, and the Bishop of Durham as ambassadors from England. Two or three months later a second meeting was held at Carlisle, and a truce was made between the two countries until August. As a result of this the exiled Douglas fell out of favour at the English Court, "and as a sorwefull and a sore rebuked man lyth in the Abbey of Seynt Albons." [1]

The Lancastrians made various incursions into the North of England, but when Margaret returned Bamborough was the only stronghold in their possession. The Queen had sailed from France with fifty-two ships, and a week before All-Hallows [2] landed in Northumberland. Alnwick was quickly reduced by famine and garrisoned by Lord Hungerford, with a son of Pierre de Brézé and a French force. Bam-

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 111, let. 459.
[2] *i.e.* about 25 Oct.

borough and Dunstanburgh were also garrisoned and left in the charge of Somerset, Pembroke and Sir Ralph Percy, who had recently joined the Queen. Margaret then embarked for Scotland to fetch Henry, but once more the weather fought against the Lancastrians, for "there rosse suche a tempaste uppon hyr that she for soke hyr schippe, and a-shapyd with the bote of the schyppe. And the schyppe was drownyd with moche of hyr stuffe, and iij grete schippys moo." [1] Moreover four hundred Frenchmen, who had taken refuge on Holy Island, were made prisoners in the church there. Margaret and de Brézé landed safely in their little boat at Berwick.

Warwick hastened north to reduce the fortresses won by Margaret, and was closely followed by Edward, who left London on 3 November. The latter, however, was somewhat ignominiously detained at Durham by a "sykenesse of masyls," [2] and Warwick advanced alone to Warkworth, which he made his headquarters. Fauconberg, now Earl of Kent, with Lord Scales conducted the siege of Alnwick, Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey that of Dunstanburgh, while Montagu and Sir Robert Ogle beleaguered Bamborough. Warwick rode daily to the three castles to oversee the operations, while Norfolk, stationed at Newcastle, supplied him with victuals and ordnance. On Christmas Eve Dunstanburgh and Bamborough were surrendered on the condition, made by Sir Ralph Percy, that he should receive the governorship of both, after which he and

[1] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 218.
[2] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 178.

Somerset took an oath of allegiance to King Edward at Durham. Pembroke was allowed to retire to Scotland. Alnwick was still holding out when, on the eve of Epiphany—6 January—news arrived that the Earl of Angus and Pierre de Brézé were approaching with a Scottish force. Warwick, taken by surprise, drew off his forces, but the Lancastrians did not consider themselves strong enough to hold the fortress or to attack the Yorkists, and the defenders marched away with the relieving force, leaving Warwick to take possession. The expedition ended, Warwick, with Edward, who had now recovered from his attack of measles, returned to London, where the treacherous Somerset was taken into high favour by the King.

But Margaret did not remain idle. Once more collecting a small force of Scots, French and English, she crossed the border in the spring of 1463, bringing Henry with her. Alnwick was betrayed to her by Sir Ralph Grey, who had been disgusted at not being made its governor by Warwick, while Bamborough was surrendered by Sir Ralph Percy, who now changed sides for the third time. Siege was laid to the castle of Norham, but when Montagu, followed by Warwick, again hastened north the Lancastrian army, apparently seized with a sudden panic, broke up and made for the border. After a last stand at Holybank Ford on the Tweed, Margaret, abandoning her horses and gear, fled with her son and de Brézé to Bamborough, followed by Henry. One of the Scottish pipers, however, disdained to fly, being a "manly man that purposyd to mete with my Lorde of Warwycke . . . for he stode a-pon

an hylle with hys tabyr [1] and hys pype, taberyng and pyping as merely as any man myght, stondyng by hym selfe, tylle my lorde come unto hym he wold not lesse hys grownd; and there he be-come my lordys man." [2]

Henry reached Bamborough, where he was for the time safe, but Margaret at last seems to have lost hope. Leaving her husband, whom she was destined never to see again, she embarked with Prince Edward, Exeter and de Brézé, and sailed with four balingers to Sluys, in Flanders. There she cast herself upon the mercy of the Duke of Burgundy, representing to him her state of destitution with many tears. Philip was not unkind to her, but he had no wish to offend his friend Edward IV, and he therefore merely gave her a sum of money for her expenses and sent her on to her father in Lorraine. René gave her the little castle of Mighel-en-Barrois, where she lived for the next seven years, doubtless attending to the education of her son Edward.

Henry after a while returned to Scotland, probably feeling insecure in Northumberland, but he was not permitted to rest there for long. Every one seemed growing weary of his cause; probably he did not press it himself with any great enthusiasm. In October 1463 Louis XI signed a truce with Edward IV; in the same year Mary of Gueldres died. The Lancastrian Earl of Angus was dead, and Bishop Kennedy, now an old man, made peace with Edward in December. Thus Henry was left without a secure refuge. At the beginning of January 1464 he was brought to Edin-

[1] Drum.

[2] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 220–1.

burgh, but seeing how coldly he was looked upon at James's Court, and feeling that he would be safer at a greater distance from the border, he appealed to Kennedy for hospitality. The good Bishop took him to his castle of St. Andrews, a somewhat grim stronghold on the wild east coast, and there Henry remained until March. "He was well received there," wrote Kennedy, "according to my little power . . . and given money and other things necessary, with as good cheer as possible." [1]

But in the spring of 1464 the Lancastrians determined on a final effort.

About Christmas 1463, or early in 1464, "that fals Duke of Somersett," whom Edward had loaded with favours since his surrender in the North, but who was so hated by the people that he had been sent into Wales for safety, slipped quietly away and made for Northumberland to join the Lancastrians once more. His intentions, however, leaked out, and he was "lyke to have ben takyn be syde Dereham [2] in hys bedde," [3] but escaped "in hys schyrt and barefote." Various insurrections broke out. Norfolk was sent to Wales to quiet "dyvers gentyllmen here whych wer consentyng and helpyng on to the Duke of Somersettys goyng." It was reported at the same time, 1 March, that the "comenys in Lancasher and Chescher wer up to the nombyr of a X^m (10,000) or more, but now they be downe agen; and one or ij of hem was hedyd in

[1] Waurin, *Anchiennes Cronicques*, iii. 169–70.
[2] Durham.
[3] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 223.

Chestyr as on Saterday last past." [1] These risings came to nothing, but when in March 1464 Henry left St. Andrews and came south to Bamborough, the North for the last time rallied to him, and Norham and Skipton-in-Craven opened their gates. Montagu, who was going north to negotiate with the Scots at Newcastle, narrowly escaped destruction in an ambush laid by Somerset and Percy, but was warned in time. Gathering a force at Newcastle he marched towards Norham, and on 25 April encountered the Lancastrians at Hedgeley Moor, not far from Wooler, under Lords Roos and Hungerford, Sir Ralph Percy and Sir Ralph Grey. Percy was slain, and the rest took to flight, but, led by Somerset, they rallied again a few weeks later. On 15 May they encamped outside Hexham, on the Linhills or "Lyvels" by the Devils Water,[2] between the river and the wooded hills. There Montagu, issuing from Newcastle, fell upon them. Many fled and the remainder, after a stubborn fight, were overcome. Somerset, Roos, and Hungerford were taken and beheaded, with many more, a series of executions being held at Hexham, Newcastle, Middleham and York. Sir William Tailboys was taken in a coal pit, with a large sum of money which he was conveying to Henry. The Lancastrian strongholds were quickly reduced, only Bamborough making any stand, under Sir Ralph Grey, who knew he could not hope for mercy. To reduce the fortress Warwick brought up Edward's new artillery—"Newcastle" and "London," great

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 152, let. 486.
[2] A tributary of the Tyne.

guns of iron, "Dijon," a brass gun, and "Edward" and "Richard" the bombardels. These did their work so well that "the stones of the walls flew into the sea,"[1] and the castle was taken by assault. Sir Ralph Grey was taken to Doncaster, his spurs struck off, and his coat-of-arms torn away, after which he was drawn away on a hurdle and beheaded. Resistance was at an end.

Henry, who at the time of the battle of Hexham was at Bywell Castle, not many miles away, fled thence in such haste that he left behind him his crowned helmet, his sword and other personal possessions, and took refuge in the Lake District, which was still secretly loyal to him. There he wandered about in disguise, from Lancashire to Westmoreland, for another year, going from one loyal household to another, guarded by his faithful chamberlain, Sir Richard Tunstall of Thurland. At one time he was at Crackenthorp, near Appleby, for afterwards John Maychell, of Crackenthorp, received a pardon for repeatedly entertaining Henry, "formerly de facto and not de iure King of England," at his house.[2] He was also in Furness Fells, between Coniston and Windermere; and in West Yorkshire, at Bolton Hall, near Sawley. At that house are preserved a boot, glove and spoon said to have belonged to the unfortunate King; if authentic they show that Henry was the possessor of delicately small hands and feet, for the boot sole measures but eight inches, and the glove is in proportion. At

[1] Oman, *Warwick the King-maker*, 158.
[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi. 575.

Bolton also there is a well named after him, because he is said to have had it enlarged for use as a cold bath. A few miles east lies Bracewell, at that time owned by the Tempest family, and there also is a room in which the King is said to have slept. A little further down the river Ribble, on the very boundary line between Lancashire and Yorkshire, and not far from Clitheroe, is Waddington Hall, where, at the end of June 1465, Henry was entertained by another member of the family, Richard Tempest. But there misfortune overtook him. Sir John Tempest, of Bracewell, had married his daughter Alice to Thomas Talbot, eldest son of his neighbour, Sir Edward Talbot, of Bashall. But Thomas was no true man to King Henry, and agreed with his cousin, John Talbot, of Salesbury, near Blackburn, Sir James Harrington, of Brierley, near Barnsley, and a brother of Richard Tempest, to take the King captive on the first opportunity. Henry's presence was betrayed, about 29 June, by a "blacke monk of Abingtone," [1] named William Cantlow, and, armed with a commission from King Edward for the royal fugitive's capture, the treacherous Tempest rode with a band of men to Waddington Hall, his brother Richard's house, where Henry was sitting at dinner with his chamberlain, Sir Richard Tunstall, and others. Out of respect for his brother, Tempest left most of his men outside and entered with only a small number; but when he attempted to arrest Henry the faithful Tunstall sprang before his master, sword in hand, and defended him so strenuously that presently Tempest's

[1] Abingdon: Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 5.

arm was broken. Then Tunstall, seeing that he could not in the end prevail against so many, took Henry by the hand, and fighting his way desperately through the men-at-arms, brought him out and fled to a wood not far off called Clitherwood.[1] But behind them a hue-and-cry was raised within the hall and without, and the Talbots started in pursuit—Tempest doubtless being delayed by his broken arm. Without horses the fugitives could not hope to go far, and later in the same day Henry was captured, there in the wood "beside Bungerley Hyppingstons"[2]—the stepping-stones over the Ribble. Exactly what part was taken in the affair by Sir James Harrington is not clear, but a month later he was granted the castle, manor and lordship of Thurland, formerly belonging to Sir Richard Tunstall, on account of his "great and laborious diligence in the capture and detention of our great traitor, rebel and enemy Henry, formerly called Henry VI."[3] Tunstall himself escaped and fled to Harlech, but of Henry's other companions his chaplains, Dr. Bydon and Dr. Manning—formerly Dean of Windsor and secretary to the Queen—and a young squire named Ellerton were taken. The unhappy King was taken towards London in custody, and at Islington was met by Warwick, who came out to arrest him formally. With unnecessary indignity his feet were bound to the stirrups and his spurs removed, and thus he was brought in at Newgate and led through Cheapside and

[1] J. de Waurin, *Anchiennes Cronicques*, v. 344–5.
[2] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 5.
[3] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi. 548.

Cornhill to the Tower, on 24 July. There he was guarded by two squires, two yeomen of the Crown and their men, "and every manne was suffred to come and speke withe hym, by licence of the kepers." [1] He was also allowed a chaplain, and there is no reason to believe that he was ill-treated, although he does not seem to have been too well looked after. Doubtless captivity was not as irksome to him as it would have been to a man of more energetic temperament.

The Lancastrian cause now seemed irretrievably lost; but already a change had begun in the political situation which, during the next five years, while Henry was languishing in the Tower and Margaret was living in obscurity with her son in Lorraine, was destined to reach such dimensions that for a brief moment Henry VI was to find himself once more on the troubled throne of England. This change was the gradual growth of mistrust and estrangement between Edward IV and the all-powerful King-maker.

Louis XI of France for the last few years had been friendly to the Lancastrians in the hope of gaining fulfilment of Margaret's promise to hand over the much-coveted Calais; Edward and Warwick therefore had fostered their friendship with Burgundy. But soon the astute Louis, seeing the hopeless condition of the Lancastrian cause, changed his views, and in 1464 concluded a truce with Edward. Warwick was very much in favour of a permanent peace with France in order to secure that the Lancastrians should not obtain assistance from that quarter, and he there-

[1] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 5.

fore warmly supported the proposal that Edward IV, now a tall and handsome young man of twenty-four, should marry Bona of Savoy, sister of the French Queen. But Edward, when obliged to give a definite answer in the matter, revealed the totally unexpected fact that he was already married to Elizabeth Grey, or Woodville, widow of Sir John Grey, the Lancastrian Captain who died of his wounds after the second battle of St. Albans. The lady's father was Lord Rivers, formerly Sir Richard Woodville, who had married Jacquette of Luxemburg, the widow of John, Duke of Bedford. Warwick was much incensed at the news, for he had committed himself rather deeply with Louis on the subject of the French Princess, and every one was astounded at what they considered a most unworthy marriage for the King. The Earl was temporarily pacified, but from that moment the breach really began. The spirited young King evidently chafed against his reliance on the King-maker, and now, with considerable rashness and ingratitude, began to give him causes of offence.

The Woodvilles, his queen's family, were almost as numerous as the Nevilles, and Edward proceeded to arrange a series of brilliant matches for them, to the dissatisfaction of every one except those concerned. Between 1464 and 1466 seven of Elizabeth's relatives were wedded to members of the peerage, and Warwick could not but perceive that the King was endeavouring to raise up a family group which would be able to set the Nevilles at defiance.

During 1465 Warwick was absent, occupied with

missions to France and Burgundy, but in 1466 the breach began to widen. Lord Rivers, the Queen's father, was created an earl and was made Treasurer in the place of Lord Mountjoy, Warwick's uncle by marriage.[1] Also the Queen annexed the young heiress of Exeter, who was betrothed to Warwick's nephew, George of Northumberland,[2] and married her to her own eldest son by her first husband; and further, the King turned a deaf ear to Warwick's proposal for a marriage between his eldest daughter Isabel, who, since he had no sons, would inherit half of his immense possessions, and George of Clarence, the King's brother.

After these small vexations, matters became really serious in the following year. The King's French marriage being frustrated, Warwick and his party wished to conclude a definite alliance with Louis XI. Edward, however, leaned rather to a friendship with Burgundy, for Charles of Charolais, son and heir of Duke Philip, desired to marry the King's sister Margaret. Edward pretended to hesitate, and in May 1467 sent Warwick over to France to negotiate a treaty of peace. But no sooner had he gone than Edward made final arrangements for the marriage of his sister with Charles, who in June became Duke of Burgundy, and also dismissed the Chancellor, George Neville, now Archbishop of York, and put Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in his place. At the end of June Warwick returned with the French Ambassadors, but

[1] He had married the Dowager Duchess of Buckingham.

[2] Son of Montagu, who had been made Earl of Northumberland in 1464.

Edward received them coldly and could not be induced to hold any discussion with them, so that they returned to France without anything being accomplished. Warwick, enraged at the false position in which he had been placed, withdrew to his castle of Middleham and remained there in retirement for some time. Whispers of treason began to be instilled into the King's ears against him, and the country, which hated the new favourites, began to grow restless; but for a year longer Warwick remained outwardly loyal.

In 1468 Edward IV was seized with the idea of renewing the claim of his ancestors to the French crown, and proclaimed his intentions at the Parliament held in May of that year. But the effect of this move was not at all what he had anticipated. Louis XI promptly remembered Margaret, and once more recalled the Lancastrians to favour. Lancastrian conspiracies broke out everywhere. Jasper Tudor, who had taken refuge in Ireland, landed in Wales and "roode ovyr the contraye and helde many cessyons and cysys[1] in Kyng Harry's name."[2] He burnt Denbigh, but was finally put to flight by Lord Herbert; and Harlech Castle, which had held out all this time for Lancaster, at last fell. Among the captives made was Henry's brave chamberlain, Sir Richard Tunstall, who was sent to the Tower. Lord Herbert received the Earldom of Pembroke in place of Jasper Tudor, who was held to have forfeited it. Wales was subdued, but plots and executions followed all over

[1] Assizes.

[2] *Hist. Coll. of a Citizen of London* (ed. Gairdner), 237.

England, and Edward's attention was far too much occupied for him to carry out his project of invading France.

Warwick, having nursed his grievances in silence for some time, began to prepare an insurrection on his own account not in favour of the Lancastrians, but on his old grounds of good government and abolition of favourites not uninfluenced by motives of personal ambition. Besides his family connection, he had with him the King's brother George of Clarence, who was set upon marrying Warwick's daughter in defiance of Edward's prohibition. The chief Nevilles now remaining were Henry Neville, son of Lord Latimer; Thomas Neville, known as the Bastard of Fauconberg; Sir John Conyers, son-in-law of Fauconberg, who had died some years before; Sir John Sutton, son-in-law of Latimer; and Lord Fitz-Hugh, Warwick's brother-in-law. His brother George, Archbishop of York, also held by him, but Montagu at this time appears to have been too cautious to break openly with Edward.

In April 1469 Warwick, with his wife and daughters, went over to Calais. Two months later two insurrections broke out in England: the first in Yorkshire, directly instigated by Warwick, under the leadership of "Robin of Redesdale," whose real name, according to Warkworth, was Sir William Conyers, but who, according to other writers, was Sir John Conyers himself. To his standard flocked the Nevilles of the North; the second rising was Lancastrian, led by one Robert Hilyard, who called himself "Robin of Holder-

ness," and was supported by the Percies. Montagu, who was dispatched against them by Edward, defeated the men of Holderness and executed their leader, but did nothing against his own family's assemblage. Edward himself, therefore, went north in person to deal with it, as Warwick had intended. Clarence meanwhile had joined the Earl at Calais, accompanied by the Archbishop of York, and there his marriage with Isabel Neville was celebrated. This done, he and the King-maker together returned to England on 12 July—always in the cause of good government—and rousing the South, marched in pursuit of Edward, who was at Nottingham. Before they had embarked Edward had grown suspicious of their movements, and on 9 July he dispatched letters from Nottingham to the three conspirators. "Brodir . . . we truste ye wole dispose you accordyng to our pleser and commandement," he wrote to Clarence, "and ye shal be to us right welcome." To Warwick, "Cosyn, we grete you well . . . and we ne trust that ye shulde be of any such disposicion towards us, as the rumour here renneth, consederyng the trust and affeccion we bere in yow. . . . And cosyn, ne thynk but ye shal be to us welcome." The Archbishop he reminded of his promise "to come to us as sone as ye goodely may." [1] These communications, however, probably never reached them, and the King soon became aware of his danger. When Lord Mountjoy at a Council held at Nottingham urged him for his own safety to dismiss the Woodvilles, he did so, and moved south to meet the

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 360, let. 615.

reinforcements which Herbert was bringing from Wales. The Northern rebels, under Conyers and Latimer, also hurried south and interposed themselves between Edward and the Welsh force, both of whom were converging on Daventry. Warwick also was approaching. Herbert and the Nevilles met at Edgcott, six miles north of Banbury, on 26 July. Henry of Latimer was killed, but Herbert was taken, and he and his brother were beheaded by the rebels at Northampton. Learning of this reverse and of Warwick's proximity, the royal army dispersed, and Edward himself fled to Olney, in Buckinghamshire. There he was surprised and taken at midnight by Archbishop Neville and delivered to Warwick's keeping. Warwick slew all the Woodvilles he could lay hands on, but the remainder having fled, and the field being clear, he released Edward after four or five weeks of detention, and attempted nothing further against him for that time. In October the King returned to London in outward harmony with the Earl; "the King himself," said John Paston, "hath good language of the Lords of Clarence, of Warwick, and of my Lords of York and Oxford, saying they be his best friends; but his household men have other language, so that what shall hastily fall I cannot say." [1] Warwick's restoration to power was celebrated by the betrothal of the King's daughter Elizabeth to George Neville, the Earl's nephew and nearest male heir,[2] who was at the

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 390, let. 632.

[2] Eldest son of Montagu. The marriage was apparently never consummated.

same time created Duke of Bedford. But Edward only concealed his animosity until a favourable opportunity.

In March 1470 an insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire led by Sir Robert Welles, son of Lord Willoughby, whereupon the King raised a large force and marched thither, calling upon Warwick and Clarence to follow him. The rising was quickly crushed and Welles beheaded at Doncaster; but then Edward's real intentions appeared. Giving out that Welles had implicated Warwick and Clarence in his dying confession, he marched upon the two Lords at Chesterfield, where they had come to join him with their levies. Taken completely by surprise, they fled south-west—the Earl picking up his family and goods at Warwick—and, embarking at Dartmouth, sailed for Calais. There for the first time they were refused entry, and, landing at Honfleur, they repaired to the Court of Louis XI. That monarch was seized with the extraordinary idea of effecting a reconciliation, for his own ends, between Warwick and Queen Margaret, and he therefore arranged a meeting between them at Angers. It seemed impossible that a concord could be brought about between two such enemies: Margaret had to forget that Warwick had slandered her, driven her out of England, deprived her husband of his throne and taken him to prison; Warwick had to overlook the attempts on his own life and the cruel death of his father and other relatives; but in the end Louis prevailed by sheer pertinacity, and the strange alliance was sealed by the marriage of Warwick's second

daughter, Anne, with Prince Edward, now a youth of seventeen. The weak point of the arrangement was that it secretly alienated Clarence, who saw his prospects of succeeding his brother on the throne of England slipping from him. From that moment he began privately to reinstate himself with King Edward.

Having once declared for Lancaster, Warwick lost no time. Directions were sent to Lord Fitz-Hugh in Yorkshire, and at the beginning of August 1470 a rising obediently broke out, headed by the Nevilles, and intended to decoy Edward thither. "Ther be many ffolkes uppe in the Northe," wrote John Paston on 5 August, "soo that Percy is not able to recyst them; and soo the Kynge hathe sente ffor hys ffeeodmen to koom to hym, for he woll goo to putt them downe. And some seye that the Kynge sholde come ageyn to London, and that in haste, and as it is sayde Cortenayes be londyd in Devenschyr, and ther rewle. Item, that the Lordes Clarance and Warwyk woll assaye to londe in Irylonde evyrye daye, as ffolkes ffeer." [1]

Warwick, provided by Louis with money and ships, sailed from Honfleur, and landed in Devonshire on 13 September accompanied by Clarence, the Bastard of Fauconberg, Jasper Tudor, the Earl of Oxford and other Lancastrians. He proclaimed Henry VI as he went, and such was the power of his name that the West Country rose to welcome him. He marched towards London without resistance, but hearing that Edward was at Nottingham he turned in that direction. Again Edward's army began to melt away, and Mon-

[1] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 406, let. 648.

tagu, who had gathered a large force by the King's orders at Pontefract, now declared for his brother and Henry VI, and marched upon Edward, who narrowly escaped capture. Fleeing with Hastings, Say and a few others, he reached Lynn, and embarking there on Michaelmas Day, sailed to Holland, without money or baggage, to take refuge with Burgundy.

In London there was considerable turmoil. Bands of Kentish men harried the suburbs to the south and east, establishing themselves at Ratcliff, St. Katherine's and Southwark, and expelling the Flemings from "Blanchapleton." The Bishop of Ely and other Bishops took refuge at St. Martin's; Queen Elizabeth Woodville, with her mother the ex-Duchess of Bedford, and her little daughters stole out of the Tower by night and took sanctuary at Westminster, where a month later her first son, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V, was born.

On 3 October [1] Henry's old friend William Waynefiete, Bishop of Winchester, went with the Mayor to the Tower to release the King, "and there toke hyme from his kepers, whiche was noyt worschipfully arayed as a prince, and noyt so clenly kepte as schuld seme suche a Prynce," [2] and having suitably clothed him, established him in the royal apartments in the Tower. On 6 October Warwick entered London in triumph, accompanied by Clarence, who was still

[1] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 312, says that this took place on 1 October. Also that the Mayor, who was a Yorkist, prudently took to his bed.

[2] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 11.

apparently on his side. Henry was instated at the Bishop's Palace by St. Paul's; "and so he was restorede to the crowne ageyne, and wrott in all his lettres, wryttes and other recordes the yere of his regne, 'Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti quadragesimo nono, et redempcionis sue regie potestatis primo.' Whereof alle his goode lovers were fulle gladde, and the more parte of peple." [1]

But ten years of troubled wandering and imprisonment had dealt hardly with Henry, and it seems that his faculties had to some extent become permanently impaired. He cannot have been hopelessly imbecile, as some writers infer, or Warwick would not have resorted to public processions to awaken loyalty, and the people would not have been roused to applause; but he was "as a man amazyd and utterly dullyd with trubbles and adversitie." [2] On 13 October the poor dazed King was taken through the city in royal apparel, accompanied by the Mayor, two Sheriffs, and the whole Council, "the people on the right hand and on the left hand reioysyn and crying God save the Kynge," [3] and was enthroned in state at St. Paul's, Warwick bearing his train and Oxford his sword. Thus he resumed his unhappy reign for six brief and troubled months.

A Parliament was called on 26 November, but little is known as to what measures it took, for the record of its session was expunged from the Rolls upon the

[1] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 11.
[2] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 143.
[3] Hall's *Chronicle*, 285.

Photo, J. Palmer Clarke

HENRY VI
King's College, Cambridge

return of Edward IV. It appears that Edward was declared a traitor, and that the crown was entailed upon Henry's son Edward, and in default of issue on the Duke of Clarence—clearly an arrangement of policy. Archbishop Neville was restored to the office of Chancellor, Clarence became Lieutenant of Ireland, Jasper Tudor Lieutenant in Wales, and the Earl of Oxford Constable of England. In discharge of that office the last named executed Tiptoft, the "butcher Earl" of Worcester, who was found at the top of a high tree in a forest in Huntingdonshire. Such was the new Government, a blend of old Lancastrians and the followers of Warwick. The "common people," it is said, "dyd stand stiflye of King Henry his syde."[1]

Margaret, probably through a lingering distrust of Warwick, did not hasten to join him and her restored husband in England. All the winter she remained in Paris, and when at last, about March 1471, she came to the coast ready to embark, the wind blew steadily against her, and for weeks her passage was delayed. When at last she accomplished it she was too late.

The winter passed in England without disturbance, but abroad Edward was not idle. Burgundy was not enthusiastic in his support, but gave him some money, and in the spring of 1471 Edward determined to try his fortune. On 2 March he embarked at Flushing with about fifteen hundred men, but being delayed for nine days by contrary winds he did not get under way until the 11th. He attempted to land in Norfolk, near Cromer, but Oxford was keeping guard there, and the

[1] Hardyng's *Chronicle*, 451.

people were too hostile, so that he was obliged to put to sea again. Making for the mouth of the Humber, his ships were scattered by a storm, but Edward himself was driven ashore on 15 March at Ravenspur[1] with about five hundred men. He was quickly joined by his brother, Richard of Gloucester, who had come to land with another three hundred men about four miles away. The men of the North did not feel much enthusiasm for Edward and his little band, and the people of Holderness rose against him, led by a priest named Sir John Westerdale. Edward, however, approached York, and upon his declaring for King Henry, mounting the ostrich-feather badge of Prince Edward, and taking an oath that he had no designs on the crown and was come merely to recover his own Dukedom of York, he was permitted to enter the city. This astonishing perjury gained him considerable support, and Tadcaster, Wakefield, Sandal and other places opened their gates to him. Montagu was in the North with an army, but through timidity or bad generalship allowed Edward to slip past him without molestation. According to one chronicler[2] he was at Leicester, and did not act because the treacherous Clarence had sent him word not to fight until he came to join him. Possibly this was the reason for Montagu's inaction, but he was apparently at Pontefract,[3] and certainly not at Leicester.

Warwick, hearing of Edward's advance, hastened to

[1] This little place, where Bolingbroke also landed, has been washed away by the encroachment of the sea.
[2] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 14.
[3] *Hist. of the Arrivall of Ed. IV* (ed. J. Bruce), 6.

Coventry, that ever-loyal Lancastrian stronghold, and waited for the levies from the South and East to join him. Edward came south to Nottingham, where he was joined by reinforcements from the Eastern Counties, and Warwick, who had pushed forward to Leicester, retired again to Coventry, re-entering the town on 28 March. On the same day Edward reached Leicester. Montagu was pursuing Edward from the North, and Oxford, with the men of East Anglia whom he had collected at Lynn, was near Newark. To secure his flank Edward turned east towards Oxford's band, whereupon the latter fell back to Stamford, and Edward then continued his march towards Coventry. Warwick, however, did not feel himself strong enough to come out and give battle, and the Yorkists passed on. A serious blow to Warwick followed, for at Banbury on 3 April Edward was joined by his treacherous brother Clarence, who now deserted his father-in-law and went over to the other side with seven thousand men. Rumours flew about the land. "Here in this cuntre be many tales," wrote Gresham to Paston, "and non accoith with other. It is tolde me . . . that my Lord of Clarence is goon to his brother, late Kyng; in so moche that his men have the Gorget [1] on ther brests and the Rose [2] over it. And it is seid that the Lord Howard hath proclaimed Kyng Edward Kyng of Inglong in Suffolk." [3]

Edward, thus strengthened, threw off all pretence, and proclaiming himself King once more, marched

[1] The Lancastrian SS. collar. [2] The white rose of York.
[3] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), ii. 422, let. 665.

towards London, Montagu having by this time joined Warwick at Coventry. From Northampton Edward sent messages to London announcing his coming, whereupon Archbishop Neville called together the Lancastrians, and on 10 April "to the intent to move the people's hearts" [1] towards King Henry, took him on a progress through the city, from St. Paul's, through Cheapside and Walbrook, and back to the Bishop's Palace, where he was lodged. This demonstration, however, was not successful in arousing loyalty, but "as much pleased the citezens as a fier paynted on the wall warmed the olde woman," [2] for Henry did not cut a gallant figure as a king, and the fickle Londoners were already returning to their allegiance to the House of York. When the Archbishop "desirede the peple to be trew unto hym [Henry] . . . every manne seide thei wulde," but nevertheless, on the following day, "Urswyke, recordere of Londone, and diverse aldermen, suche that hade reule of the cyte, commaundede alle the peple that were in harnes, kepynge the cite and Kynge Herry, every man to goo home to dynere; and in dyner tyme Kynge Edwarde was late in." [3] Thus Edward entered London on Maundy Thursday without opposition, for the remaining Lancastrians had gone south to meet Queen Margaret. He rode to St. Paul's and afterwards to the Bishop's Palace, where he found his unfortunate rival almost alone, deserted by his followers and left

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 660.
[2] Hall's *Chronicle*, 294.
[3] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 15.

"as a sacrifice to be offered." [1] Henry was replaced in the Tower once more, together with the Archbishop of York, who, however, was subsequently released, and Edward fetched his wife and family, with his newborn son, from Westminster. But he had no time to waste, for Warwick was following hard upon his heels.

The Yorkists were quickly joined by Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, his brothers the Earl of Essex and Lord Berners, and others, with men from the East, and pausing only for Good Friday, Edward set out from London on Easter Eve, taking with him the unhappy Henry in order to discourage the other side.

Warwick on the same day reached the neighbourhood of Barnet, and encamped on the heath above the town, near Monken Hadley. The Yorkists approached at nightfall, and in the gathering dark Edward's army marched through the town of Barnet and up the hill in deep silence, knowing that Warwick was near, and, indeed, in the blackness of the night encamped much nearer to his lines than they intended. This, however, turned out well for them, for Warwick, hearing the tramping of many feet, kept up a heavy artillery fire along his front all night, which, owing to their unexpected proximity, went over the heads of the Yorkists. "Eche of them loosede gonnes at othere alle the nyght"; but the coming of the dawn helped them little, for "bycause of the great myste that was which wolde not suffre no man to see but a litle from hym," [2] they had but a vague idea as to the general

[1] *Three books of Polydore Vergil's Eng. Hist.* (ed. Sir H. Ellis), 143.
[2] *Hist. of the Arrivall of Ed. IV* (ed. J. Bruce), 19.

position, and did not know that the armies overlapped each other at either end. Nevertheless, in the dimness Edward ordered the attack, and from four in the morning till ten on that fateful Easter Day they fought blindly and desperately, ignorant of the tide of battle and in wild confusion.

> "For friend and foe were shadows in the mist,
> And friend slew friend not knowing whom he slew.
> . . . And in the mist
> Was many a noble deed, many a base,
> And chance and craft, and strength in single fights;
> And ever and anon with host to host
> Shocks, and the splintering spear, the hard mail hewn,
> Shield-breakings, and the clash of brands, the crash
> Of battle-axes on shatter'd helms, and shrieks
> After the Christ, of those who falling down
> Look'd up for heaven and only saw the mist."

Each army was victorious on the wing where it outflanked the other, but the rest of the field was quite ignorant of it. Warwick's right wing, led by the Earl of Oxford, put to flight Edward's left, but presently a fatal confusion was caused in the Earl's ranks because the blazing star worn by Oxford's men was mistaken by their comrades for Edward's badge of the rising sun —the mist being so thick "that a manne myghte not profytely juge one thynge from anothere"[1]; hence, when they returned from pursuing Edward's left wing, Warwick's men attacked them, whereupon they fled with cries of treason which unnerved the whole line. In the centre Edward did great prowess, and his impetuous assault, combined with this accident, won the

[1] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 16.

day. Montagu was slain, Oxford had fled, and Warwick himself leapt to horse and prepared to fly, but was overtaken and killed in the wood—probably Wrotham Park—beside the battle-field. Thus perished, at the age of forty-three, the great King-maker, statesman and soldier, for twenty years the most powerful man in England, and the last of the great mediæval barons whose might overshadowed that of the throne. His body, with that of his brother Montagu, was publicly displayed at St. Paul's for several days in order that England might have no doubts on the subject of his death. Afterwards they were interred by their remaining brother, the Archbishop, at Bisham Abbey.

Henry, who had been present at this phantom battle, was brought back to London the same afternoon, and, riding through the city in a long gown of blue velvet, re-entered the Tower, which he never left again.

Strangely enough, on Easter Eve the wind at last enabled Margaret to leave Honfleur, and on Easter Sunday, the very day of the battle of Barnet, she landed at Weymouth, little knowing that her cause was already lost. The Countess of Warwick landed the same day at Portsmouth, but, receiving the dire news of her son's defeat and death, she retired to Beaulieu Abbey instead of joining Margaret. The latter was not long in hearing of the disaster, and took refuge in Cerne Abbey near by, but in spite of this blow her spirit was still unbroken. There she was joined by Somerset and Devon with the remnant of the Lancastrian army, and together they set out to rouse the West, hoping to effect a junction with Jasper Tudor's

army in Wales. Exeter, Taunton, Glastonbury and Bath were visited with good results, and fore-riders were sent towards Wells and Oxfordshire. But Edward again had lost no time and was already approaching when Margaret turned west to Bristol. Leaving London on 19 April, and mustering his army at Windsor, Edward had marched rapidly west by way of Cirencester and Malmesbury, having a slight skirmish with the Lancastrians at Sodbury. Margaret pressed on towards Wales, but the Yorkist town of Gloucester refused to admit her, and her exhausted army was obliged to tramp on to Tewkesbury, "xxxvj longe myles in a fowle contrye."[1] Edward, marching through the Cotswolds to Cheltenham, came up with her at Tewkesbury on 4 May. The Lancastrian position was good, for the army was drawn up to the south, with the town behind them, and "evell lanes, depe dikes and many hedges" in front; "a ryght evill place to approche as cowlde well have been devysed."[2] But the day was lost by the impetuosity of Somerset and the treachery of Wenlock. Galled by the fire of Edward's superior artillery, Somerset made his way through the lanes, and, attacking the Yorkist army on the flank, suffered a repulse. Following up his advantage, Edward fell upon the main body of the Lancastrians and put them to rout. Many were slain in the meadow beside the town, which still retains the sinister name of the "Bloody Meadow," and others were drowned in the mill-stream. Wenlock, who should have supported Somerset, remained basely inactive,

[1] *Hist. of the Arrivall of Ed. IV* (ed. J. Bruce), 27. [2] *Ibid.*, 29.

but the Duke, coming upon him in Tewkesbury market-place, fell upon him in a burst of despairing fury and killed him, whereupon his men fled. Margaret was carried off by her attendants, and concealed in "a powre religiows place" near by. Prince Edward, it seems clear, was slain on the field "fleeing to the townwards"[1]; he "cryede for socoure to his brother-in-lawe the Duke of Clarence,"[2] who, however, brought him no help. Such is the evidence of contemporary writers as to his death; the story of his capture and subsequent murder in the presence of Edward IV is a later invention. The Earls of Devon and Dorset, on the Queen's side, were also slain in the battle, and Somerset was taken and afterwards beheaded. Edward's victory was complete, and to celebrate his triumph he made forty-three knights upon the field. Only Margaret had escaped him, but a few days later her hiding-place was discovered, and, together with her daughter-in-law, Anne Neville, she was brought to Edward at Coventry on 11 May. Thence she was taken to London in his victorious train, and for four years remained a prisoner in his hands. At length, in November 1475, she was ransomed by Louis XI for 50,000 crowns at the urging of her father, for which benefit she signed away her claim to Anjou, Provence and Lorraine. She ended her days in France in 1482.

A last flicker of resistance remained for Edward to quell in the East. The Bastard of Fauconberg, who had been hovering with a fleet in the Straits, landed about

[1] *Hist. of the Arrivall of Ed. IV* (ed. J. Bruce), 30, 31.
[2] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 18.

5 May, and, rousing the restless county of Kent, marched towards London in the cause of King Henry, arriving there on 8 May. He demanded entrance to the city in order to release Henry from the Tower, but Lord Scales, supported by the Mayor, refused to admit him, "for thei had understondynge that Prince Edwarde was dede and alle his hoste discomfytede." [1] Fauconberg thereupon, on 12 May, "loosede his gonnes into the citee," and burnt Aldgate and London Bridge; but this action did harm to his cause, for it infuriated the citizens of London, who otherwise, Warkworth hints, would have let him in in spite of their leaders. Finally, seeing that he could effect nothing, he drew off and retired into Kent, where he was afterwards taken and executed by Edward.

On 21 May 1461 Edward IV returned to London, and that same night Henry VI, at the age of fifty, ended his troubled life. His death for long remained a mystery. It was known that the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) went that evening to the Tower to announce to the unhappy Henry the loss of his cause, the capture of his wife and the death of his only son, and we can well believe that he did not do it too gently. According to the official Yorkist account, poor Henry "toke it to so great dispite, ire and indignation, that of pure displeasure and melancoly he dyed." [2] The populace was expected to believe that the shock of this terrible news would be enough to snap the

[1] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 19.

[2] *Hist. of the Arrivall of Ed. IV* (ed. J. Bruce), 38; see also J. de Waurin, *Anchiennes Cronicques*, v. 675.

unfortunate monarch's weak thread of life, and taking for granted that he was sufficiently in possession of his faculties fully to realize its purport, which was doubtful. Even so his death would have occurred at a suspiciously convenient moment for Edward, for with Henry removed there was no one remaining around whom the Lancastrians could rally. However, the general verdict of the time, and what now seems proved to have been the real truth, was that the poor unnecessary king was quietly put out of the way. Most chroniclers agree that he was slain either by Richard of Gloucester himself, or in that Duke's presence. Thus the "common fame went." [1] The examination made in November 1910 of the remains which evidence combines to prove are those of Henry VI, revealed the ominous fact that part of the hair remaining on the skull appeared much darker than the rest, and was apparently matted with blood.[2] According to Warkworth's *Chronicle*, "the same nyghte that Kynge Edwarde came to London, Kynge Herry beynge in warde in presone in the Toure of Londone, was putt to dethe, the xxj day of Maij, on a tywesday nyght, betwyx xj and xij of the cloke, beynge thenne at the Toure the Duke of Gloucetre brothere to Kynge Edwarde, and many other; and one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme." [3] Another

[1] Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 662; *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 185.

[2] *Archæologia*, Ser. II. vol. 62, pt. ii. p. 533.

[3] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 21.

adds that there were "abowte the beer mure glevys [1] and stavys than torches," [2] and several chroniclers record with horror that "in hys lyinge he bledde one the pament ther; and afterward at the Blake Fryers was broughte, and ther he blede newe and fresche" [3]—a sure sign to the superstitious of that day that he was murdered.

Finally the body was taken up the river in a boat to Chertsey Abbey, and was there "honorably enteryd." [4] But thirteen years later Richard of Gloucester, then reigning as Richard III, in the hope of regaining the popularity so fast slipping from him, took the remains of Henry VI from Chertsey, and reinterred them with due honour in the Chapel of St. George at Windsor, on 12 August, 1484. By this time the unhappy King had come to be revered as a saint, and it was even said that miracles were worked at his tomb. The site of his burial was said to have been immediately under the second arch of the south aisle, out of which the south door of the choir opens, and there accordingly the investigations of 4 November 1910 were carried out. The bones of the king, together with the remains of their wrappings, were found enclosed in a wooden chest, 3 ft. 3½ in. long by 10 in. wide, and 9 in. deep, within a leaden casket. The bones were declared upon examination to be those of a fairly strong man, at least 5 ft. 9 in. in height, possibly an inch taller. The

[1] Swords.

[2] *Chronicles of London* (ed. C. L Kingsford), 185.

[3] Warkworth's *Chronicle* (ed. Halliwell), 21; Habington, *Historie of Ed. IV*, 105.

[4] *Hist. of the Arrivall of Ed. IV* (ed. J. Bruce), 38.

skull was thin and light, well formed, but small in proportion to the stature of the frame. Some of the bones, including those of the right arm, were missing, which points to the body having been buried in earth (at Chertsey), and later exhumed and dismembered. The remains, after examination, were wrapped in white silk and replaced in a new oaken box, which was enclosed within the repaired leaden casket, and returned to the vault.

"Thus you have hearde the variable chaunce and tragedicall hystory of Kynge Henry the Sixthe."[1]

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, 257.

APPENDICES

I

ITINERARY OF HENRY VI

NOTE.—*The Charter, Patent, Close and Treaty, Rolls and the Wardrobe and Household Accounts (bundles 407 to 411) of the reign furnish the greater part of the Itinerary. Other sources are referred to in footnotes.*

1422–3. Apparently Windsor.

1423. *Nov.* 13, Windsor to Staines; 14, Staines; 15, Kingston; 16, Kennington; 17, Westminster (first appearance in Parliament) [1]; 26, Parliament, thence to Waltham Cross.[2] *Dec.* Hertford Castle for Christmas.[3]

1424. *Mar.* 23 to *April* 1, Sutton; 16 to *May* 4, Langley; 5, Weybridge; 6–11, Windsor; 12, Sutton; 13 to *June* 10, Kennington.

1425. *April* 28, from Windsor through the City to Kennington; [4] 30, Westminster (opening of Parliament); [5] *May* 2, Parliament; [6] *July* 14, Parliament; [7] *Nov.* 5, Eltham to London; [8] *Christmas*, Eltham.[9]

1426. *Feb.* 18,[10] to *June* 1, Leicester; 2, to *July* 20, Kenilworth.

1427. *Oct.* 13, Westminster (opening of Parliament).[11]

1428. *Easter*, Hertford Castle.[12] Friday in Easter week, to St. Albans, for nine days; [13] *April* 19, left St. Albans for Windsor.[14] *Christmas*, Eltham.[15]

In *May* the Privy Council decreed that the King should inhabit his castles of Wallingford and Hertford in summer and those of

[1] Fabyan. [2] *Three Fifteenth Century Chrons.* (ed. Gairdner).
[3] Fabyan. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Rolls of Parliament.*
[6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* [8] Gregory's *Chron.*
[9] *Proc. Privy Council.* [10] *Rolls of Parliament.*
[11] *Ibid.* [12] *Chron. Mon. S. Albani.*
[13] *Ibid.* [14] *Ibid.* [15] *Ibid.*

Windsor and Berkhampstead in winter, but obviously this was not strictly adhered to.

1429. *Sept.* 22, Westminster (opening of Parliament);[1] 26, Parliament;[2] *Nov.* 6, Coronation. *Dec.* 12, Parliament;[3] 20, Parliament.[4]

1430. *Feb.* 23, Westminster (last day of Parliament);[5] 24, Eltham;[6] *Palm Sunday*, Canterbury; (remained there for Easter).[7] *April* 23, Dover to Calais;[8] (remained there three months). *July* 29, Rouen; (remained there nearly eighteen months).

1431. *Nov.* 30, St. Denis[9] (from Rouen). *Dec.* 3, Paris; 16, Coronation; 27, left Paris.

1432. *Jan.* 4, Rouen; 8? Calais.[10] *Feb.* 9, Dover;[11] 20, Blackheath, Deptford, Southwark, to St. Paul's, thence to Westminster.[12] *May* 12, Parliament; 14, Parliament. *July* 17, Parliament.

1433. *July* 8, Westminster (opening of Parliament); 11—*Nov.* 3 and 24; *Dec.* 21, Parliament.

1434. No record.

1435. *July* 13, Windsor.[13] *Oct.* 10, Westminster (opening of Parliament); 13–*Nov.* 8, *Dec.* 23, Parliament.

1436. *Jan.* 28, Westminster.[14]

1437. *Jan.* 21, Westminster (opening of Parliament); 23–*Feb.* 25, and *Mar.* 27, Parliament. *April* 18–19, Kennington; 20, Sheen; 21, Staines; 22 to 25, Windsor; 26, Windsor, Easthampstead; 27, Easthampstead, Merton; 28, Windsor; 29, Colnbrook, Sheen; 30–*May* 1, Sheen; 2–10, Kennington; 11, Staines; 12–15, Easthampstead; 16, Chertsey; 17–22, Merton; 23–25, Sheen; 26–30, Merton; 31–*June* 2, Sheen; 3, Kennington; 4, Tottenham; 5–7, Copped Hall; 8–17, Hertford; 18–19, Waltham Abbey; 20 Kennington; 21–22, Sheen; 23, Merton; 24–30, Kennington. *July* 1, Edgware; 2–11, Berkhampstead; 12–15, Sheen; 16, Barnet; 17–18, St. Albans; 19, Dunstable; 20, Dunstable, Brickhill and Stony Stratford; 21–25, Stony Stratford; 26–28, Northampton; 29, Market Harborough; 30–*Aug.* 4, Leicester; 5, Loughborough; 6–7, Nottingham; 8, Newstead Abbey; 9–11, Nottingham; 12,

[1] *Rolls of Parliament.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] Gregory's *Chron.*
[7] *Chron. Mon. S. Albani.* [8] Stevenson. [9] Bourgeois de Paris.
[10] *Gregory's Chron.* [11] *Chron. of London.*
[12] *Ibid.* [13] Stevenson. [14] *Ibid.*

Loughborough; 13–18, Leicester; 19, Nuneaton; 20–25, Kenilworth; 26, Stratford-on-Avon; 27–28, Winchcomb; 29, Chipping Norton; 30–*Sept.* 8, Woodstock; 9–11, Boarstall; 12, Aylesbury; 13–22, King's Langley; 23, Uxbridge; 24–*Oct.* 15, Sheen; 16–17, Sheen, Hanworth; 18–*Nov.* 5, Sheen;[1] 6–14, Hospital of St. John at Clerkenwell; [2] 15, Westminster, Sheen; 16, 17, Sheen; 18, Staines, 19–26, Easthampstead; [3] 27–*Dec.* 2, Manor in Windsor Park; 3, Colnbrook; 4, Colnbrook, Sheen; 5–9, Sheen; 10, Sheen, Hanworth; 11–13, Hanworth; 14–18, Sheen; 19, Kennington; [4] 20–31, Eltham.

1438. *Jan.* 1–6, Eltham; 7, Eltham, Kennington; 8, Kennington; 9, Kingston; 10, Staines; 11–14, Easthampstead; 15, Easthampstead, Manor in Windsor Park; 16–17, Manor in Windsor Park; 18–20, Reading; 21–28, Sonning; 29, Maidenhead; 30–*Mar.* 3, Windsor; 4, Windsor, Colnbrook; 5, Brentford; 6–9, Kennington; 10–13, Eltham; 14, Dartford; 15, Dartford, Rochester; 16, Rochester; 17–25, Maidstone; 26–30, Leeds Castle; 31, Rochester. *April* 1, Dartford; 2, Kennington; 3, Brentford, Colnbrook; 4–25, Windsor; 26, Windsor, Colnbrook, Kennington; 27–*May* 19, Kennington; [5] 20, Kennington,[6] Colnbrook; 21–25,[7] Windsor; 26, 27, Windsor, Henley; 28, 29, Henley, Windsor, Dogmersfield; 30, Henley; 31–*June* 8, Windsor; 9, Windsor, Colnbrook; 10–13, Westminster; 14–20, Westminster,[8] Havering atte Bower; 21–29, Havering atte Bower; 30, Havering atte Bower,[9] Ingatestone. *July* 1, Chelmsford; 2, Brentwood; 3–7, Havering atte Bower; [10] 8, Havering atte Bower, Westminster; 9–11, Westminster; 12, Westminster,[11] Windsor; 13–20, Windsor; 21–27, Easthampstead; 28, Dogmersfield, Odiham; 29, Odiham; 30–31, Kingsclere. *Aug.* 1, Kingsclere, Andover; 2–4, Sombourn; 5–8, Clarendon; 9, 10, Salisbury; 11, Salisbury, Marlborough; 12, Marlborough, Faringdon; 14–25, Woodstock; 26, Banbury; 27–*Sept.* 13, Warwick Castle; 16–19, The Lodge at

[1] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 64, 67, 69.
[2] *Ibid.*, v. 71–2.
[3] *Bekynton Corres.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 91.
[4] Manor at Kempton Park with which Kennington has been identified.
[5] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 95.
[6] *Bekynton Corres.*, i. 20.
[7] *Ibid.*, ii. 55.
[8] *Ibid.*, i. 254.
[9] *Ibid.*, ii. 80.
[10] *Ibid.*, i. 57.
[11] *Ibid.*, i. 3.

Fulbrook; 24, 25, Woodstock; 27, Banbury. *Oct.* 5, Abingdon; 6–10, Oxford; 13–15, Woodstock;[1] 19, Wilcot; 28, High Wycombe; *Nov.* 1–5, 8–15, Eltham; 18, 19, Windsor Castle; 21–25, Easthampstead; 30, Warwick. *Dec.* 1, Kenilworth Castle; 4, 5, 11, Good Rest Lodge; 13, Kenilworth Castle; 14, 15, Plaisant Marreys; 19–30, Kenilworth Castle.

1439. *Jan.*– 6, Kenilworth; 11–15, Good Rest Lodge; 20, Woodstock; 26–*Feb.* 15,[2] Easthampstead; 16, Easthampstead, Windsor; 17–19, Windsor; 20, Windsor, Brentford; 21–27, Eltham; 28, Eltham; Fulham. *Mar.* 3, Westminster; 4–10, Westminster or Fulham; 11, Westminster, Dartford; 12, Rochester, Sittingbourne; 14, Rochester; 17, Rochester Cathedral; 18–28, Hospital of St. James by Westminster; 29–*April* 9–27, Windsor. *May* 10, Windsor Castle;[3] 27, Kennington; 30, Windsor Castle. *June* 18, Hospital of St. James by Westminster. *July* 10, 11, Sheen;[4] 29, Easthampstead; 30, Odiham Castle. *Aug.* 24, Windsor Castle. *Sept.* 5, Windsor Castle;[5] 11, Kennington;[6] 17, Windsor Castle; 23, Bagshot; 26, Guildford. *Oct.* 3, Windsor Castle.[7] *Nov.* 5, 6, Eltham;[8] 15, Kennington;[9] 23[10]–28, Westminster. *Dec.* 1, Windsor Castle; 11–21,[11] Westminster; 24, 27,[12] Windsor Castle.

1440. *Jan.* 8, Windsor Castle; *Jan.* 15–*Feb.* 10, Reading;[13] 11, Sonning; 14–22, Reading. *Mar.* 2, Rochester; 4, Sittingbourne; 5, 6, Canterbury; 22[14]–29, Windsor Castle; 30, Kennington. *April* 9, The Lodge at Windsor; 29, Windsor Castle;[15] *May* 3, Kennington; 4, Westminster;[16] 5, Kennington;[17] 10–13, Westminster;[18] 14–28, Windsor Castle;[19] *June* 2, Kennington; 10, Kennington,[20] Windsor Castle; 14, Westminster; 15–21, Kennington;[21] 22, 26[22] Windsor

[1] *Bekynton Corres.*, i. 56.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 200.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 67.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 236.
[5] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 109.
[6] *Ibid.*, 117.
[7] *Bekynton Corres.*, ii. 51.
[8] *Ibid.*, i. 74, 198.
[9] *Ibid.*, 77.
[10] *Ibid.*, 197.
[11] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 3; *Bekynton Corres.*, i. 71, 13.
[12] *Bekynton Corres.*, 215.
[13] *Ibid.*, i. 52, 99, 77, 47, 207, 65; ii. 53.
[14] *Ibid.*, i. 41.
[15] *Ibid.*, i. 81.
[16] *Ibid.*, 187.
[17] *Ibid.*, 107.
[18] *Ibid.*, 70, 84–6.
[19] *Ibid.*, 27, 94, 98, 189.
[20] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 118.
[21] *Bekynton Corres.*, i. 94; *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 120.
[22] *Bekynton Corres.*, i. 122.

Castle; 30, Havering atte Bower.[1] *July* 2, 4, Westminster; 6,[2] 7, Windsor Castle; 12, 15, Easthampstead; 18, Easthampstead, Windsor Castle;[3] 22, 23, Windsor Castle; 27, Wycombe; 31–*Aug.* 2, Woodstock; 20, Westminster; 30, The Lodge in Windsor Park; 31–*Sept.* 2,[4] The Manor in Windsor Park;[5] 6, 12, Windsor Castle; 14, St. Albans; 16–17, Coptfold Hall;[6] 22, 25, Windsor Castle; 26, Coptfold Hall;[7] *Oct.* 5, Windsor Castle; 8, 11, Sheen; 22–*Nov.* 3, 5, 20, Westminster;[8] 21, Windsor Castle;[9] 27, Windsor Castle, Westminster; 28–*Dec.* 1, Westminster; 7, Windsor Castle;[10] 11, Dogmersfield; 12,[11] 13, Easthampstead; 22, Dogmersfield, Windsor Castle; 23, 25, Windsor Castle;[12] 28, 30, Dogmersfield.

1441. *Jan.* 2, 3, Dogmersfield; 8, The Lodge in Windsor Park; 10, Westminster; 15, 18, 19, Sheen; 20, Chiswick; 22, 25, Sheen;[13] 29,[14] 31, Westminster. *Feb.* 2, Windsor Castle;[15] 3,[16] 6,[17] 7, 13, 14, Westminster; 24, Dogmersfield; 27,[18] *Mar.* 17, 18, Westminster; 20, Dogmersfield; 25, 28, Windsor Castle. *April* 2, Cambridge;[19] 6, 8, 10,[20] Windsor Castle; 20, Dogmersfield, Windsor Castle. *May* 4,[21] 5, Sheen; 8, Sheen, Westminster; 11,[22] 12,[23] Sheen; 14,[24] Sheen, Westminster; 16, 24, 30, Westminster; 31, Sheen; *June* 8, 11, Dogmersfield; 17, 18, Mortlake; 21, Sheen;[25] 22, Westminster; 26, Sheen;[26] 30, Westminster. *July* 1, Westminster, Havering atte Bower;[27] 7, 9, 21, Westminster. *Aug.* 9, Hertford Bridge; 10, Westminster; 16, Sheen;[28] 18, Sheen,[29] Dogmersfield; 22,[30] Sheen; 30, Dogmersfield, Westminster. *Sept.* 2, 26, Dogmersfield. *Oct.* 1, 2,

[1] *Bekynton Corres.*, i. 135. [2] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 121.
[3] *Bekyngton Corres.*, i. 50. [4] *Ibid.*, ii. 60, 77.
[5] *Ibid.*, i. 14. [6] "Copped Hall"; *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 122.
[7] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 124. [8] *Bekyngton Corres.*, i. 36, 136.
[9] *Ibid.*, i. 29. [10] *Ibid.*, ii. 96. [11] *Ibid.*, i. 182.
[12] *Ibid.*, 210; ii. 97. [13] *Ibid.*, i. 38; ii. 56.
[14] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 131. [16] *Ibid.*, 132.
[16] *Bekyngton Corres.*, ii. 98; i. 34.
[17] *Ibid.* [18] *Ibid.*, i. 185.
[19] Document at King's College, cit. Willis, *Archit. Hist. of Cambridge*, i. 321.
[20] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 139. [21] *Ibid.*, v. 142.
[22] *Ibid.* [23] *Bekyngton Corres.*, i. 211.
[24] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 145. [25] *Bekyngton Corres.*, i. 235.
[26] *Ibid.*, 239. [27] *Ibid.*, ii. 99. [28] *Ibid.*, i. 130.
[29] *Ibid.* [30] *Ibid.*, 137.

Hertford, King's Langley; 3, Hertford, Langley, Waltham, Tottenham; Westminster, Sheen; 6–11, Sheen; 12–15, Westminster;[1] 16–26, Eltham; 26, Eltham, Westminster; 27, Uxbridge; 28, Sheen; 29, Sheen, Westminster; 30–*Dec.* 31, The Manor in Windsor Park or Eltham. [2] Perhaps Dec. 13 at Hillingdon.[3]

1442. *Jan.* 1, 7, Eltham; 8, Eltham, Dartford, Rochester; 9, Sittingbourne, Ospringe; 10, Canterbury; 11, Ospringe; 12, Sittingbourne, Rochester; 13, Rochester, Dartford, Eltham; 14, Eltham, Westminster; 15, Eltham; 16, Eltham, Kennington, Sheen; 17, Sheen; 18, Sheen, Westminster; 19, Staines; 20, 21, Easthampstead; 22, Easthampstead, Staines; 23, Sheen, Westminster; 24–28, Westminster;[4] 29, The Wardrobe in London;[5] 30–*Feb.* 24, Westminster, Eltham; 25–*June* 5, Sheen, Windsor, Colnbrook or Westminster.[6] 6, Windsor, Brentford; 7–11, Eltham; 12, Eltham, Clapham, Sheen; 13–17, Sheen; 18, Colnbrook; 19–*July* 9, Windsor;[7] 10, Windsor, Brentford; 11–15, Fulham; 16, Brentford, Colnbrook; 17–*Sept.* 30 apparently at Windsor or Sheen.[8] *Oct.* 4–30, Eltham;[9] *Nov.* 7–21, Westminster. *Dec.* 1, Westminster, Windsor; 6, 7–30, Dogmersfield.

1443. *Jan.* 1–9, Dogmersfield; 13, Westminster; 15, Windsor; 16, Dogmersfield; 27–30, Eltham.[10] *Feb.* 2–27,[11] Westminster, Chiswick, Sheen. *Mar.* 2–18, Westminster; 26–*April* 6, Eltham;[12] 11–24, Dogmersfield. *May* 5–*Aug.* 24, Westminster and Sheen;[13] 28, Kennington. *Sept.* 16, Westminster. *Oct.* 1–18, Windsor; 19, Colnbrook, Sheen; 20–29, Sheen; 30, Colnbrook, Windsor; 31–*Nov.* 5, Windsor; 7, Windsor, Easthampstead; 8, 9, Easthampstead; 10–27, Sheen;[14] 28, Colnbrook, Windsor; 29–*Dec.*

[1] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 153.

[2] There is no evidence to show at which place the King was in residence.

[3] Treaty R. 124, m. 22. [4] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 34.

[5] "Gard, London."

[6] April 15 he was, perhaps, at Chiswick, and May 24 and June 1 at Dogmersfield.

[7] *Bekyngton Corres.*, ii. 180.

[8] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 192–207.

[9] *Ibid.*, v. 210, 212, 214, 215.

[10] Rymer, xi. 18. [11] *Proc. Privy Council*, v. 223–6.

[12] *Ibid.*, 249, 264. [13] *Ibid.*, 267, 268, 273, 288.

[14] Entries continue for Easthampstead till Dec. 10.

10, Windsor; 11–18, Sheen; 19, Colnbrook, Windsor; 20–31, Windsor.

1444. *Jan.* 1–6, Windsor; 7, Windsor, Colnbrook, Sheen, Uxbridge, Rickmansworth; 8–31, Sheen or King's Langley. *Feb.* 1–*Mar.* 22, apparently at Sheen; 23–25, Hillingdon; 26, Wycombe; 27, Watlington; 28, Watlington, Culham; 29–*April* 4, Culham; 4, Culham, Abingdon; 5, Abingdon; 6–15, Abingdon; 16–19, Culham; 20–26, Woodstock; 27, Islip, Tetsworth; 28, Stoken Church, Wycombe; 29, Beaconsfield, Hillingdon; 30–*May* 7, Hillingdon; 8, Hillingdon, Chalfont, Berkhampstead; 9–25, Berkhampstead or King's Langley; 25, Berkhampstead, King's Langley, Chalfont;[1] 26–28, Hillingdon; 29, Chalfont; 30–*June* 11, Berkhampstead; 12, Chalfont, Uxbridge; 13, Stanwell, Bagshot; 14, Bagshot; 15, Farnham, Alton; 16, Warnford; 17, Southwick; 18, Meon Stoke; 19, Tisted, Alton; 20, Farnham, Bagshot; 21, Bagshot; 22, Stanwell, Sheen; 23–*July* 19, Sheen;[2] 20, Sheen, Staines, The Manor in Windsor Park; 21–26, The Manor in Windsor Park; 27, The Manor in Windsor Park, Bagshot, Henley; 28–*Aug.* 2, Henley; 3, Henley?, Easthamsptead; 4, Marlow, Wycombe; 5, Stoken Church, Tetsworth; 6, Islip, Woodstock; 7–11, Woodstock; 12–20, Langley in Whichewood; 21, Woodstock; 25, Islip, Tetsworth; 26, Stoken Church, Wycombe; 27, Marlow, The Manor in Windsor Park; 28–*Sept.* 10, Windsor; 11, Staines, Kingston; 12, Clapham, Eltham; 13–16, Eltham; 17, Eltham, Clapham, Kingston; 18, Staines, Windsor; 19–30, Windsor. *Oct.* 16–*Dec.* 30, Westminster.

1445. *Jan.* 1–*April* 14, Westminster; 18, Southwick Priory;[3] 22, Titchfield Abbey;[4] *May* 7–25,[5] Westminster; 26, The Tower of London;[7] 28, London;[7] 30–*June*[8] 19, Westminster. *July* 3, 5, Windsor Castle;[9] 13[10]–16,[11] Westminster; 17, Windsor;[12] 19, 26,

[1] The King was probably at Berkhampstead.

[2] Payments at King's Langley or Chiltern Langley throughout July, Aug. and Sept.

[3] Rymer, xi. 83.

[4] Marriage of the King and Margaret of Anjou.

[5] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 39.

[6] Gregory's *Chron.*, 186. [7] *Chron. of London*, 186.

[8] *Ibid.*; Davies, *English Chron.*, 61; Treaty R. 127, m. 6.

[9] Rymer, xi. 89. [10] *L. and P. of Henry VI.* (Rolls. Ser), i. 1.

[11] *Ibid.*, i. 124. [12] *Ibid.*

Westminster; 27, 30, Fulham;[1] *Sept.* 1–*Oct.* 20, Westminster; 28, Eltham;[2] *Nov.* 2–27, Westminster. *Dec.* 25, Windsor.[3]

1446. *Jan.* 2,[4] 3,[5] Windsor Castle; 8–*Mar.* 30, Westminster. *April* 21, Canterbury; 24–*July* 20, Westminster. *Aug.* 1,[6] Augustinian Friary, Lynn; 7–*Oct.* 18, Westminster; 25, Windsor.[7] *Nov.* 8, 10, 14, Westminster; 16, Eltham, Dartford; 17, Gravesend, Rochester; 18, Sittingbourne, Ospringe; 19, 20, Canterbury; 21, Canterbury, Ospringe; 22, Sittingbourne; 23, Gravesend, Dartford; 24, Eltham, Westminster; 25–*Dec.* 1, Westminster; 2, Westminster, Brentford; 3, Colnbrook, Windsor; 4–12, Windsor or Sheen; 13–19, Sheen; 19, Sheen, Colnbrook; 20, Windsor; 21, 22, Windsor, Sheen; 23, Colnbrook; 24–31, Windsor.

1447. *Jan.* 1–9, Windsor, Bagshot; 11, Guildford; 12, Guildford, Chiddingfold; 13, Midhurst, Arundel; 14, 15, Chichester; 16, Havant, Southwick; 17, Botley, South(ampton); 18–21, Southampton; 24, Alresford, Alton; 25, Alton, Farnham; 26, Guildford; 27, Windsor, Guildford, "Newerk;" 28—*Feb.* 2, Windsor; 3, Windsor, Uxbridge, Watford; 4, Hatfield, Hertford; 5, Hertford; 6, Buntingford, Royston; 7, Cambridge; 8, Newmarket; 9—*Mar.* 5, Bury St. Edmunds;[8] 6, Thetford; 7, Pickenham,[9] Litham; 8, Walsingham; 9, "Hilberworth," Brandon Ferry; 10, Mildenhall, Newmarket; 11–14, Cambridge; 15, Royston; 16, Ware, "Ponontz;" 17, Cheshunt, Tottenham; 18, Tottenham; 19, Westminster;[10] 20, Brentford, Colnbrook, Windsor; 21—*Mar.* 4. Apparently at Windsor but "testes" at Canterbury on Mar. 24,[11] 31,[12] April 6, 11 and at Maidstone, Mar. 29; Windsor, Baghot, Farnham; 5, Farnham, Alton, Alresford; 6–8, Winchester; 9, Bishop's Waltham; 10, Alresford, Alton; 11, Farnham; 12, Bagshot; 13–15, Windsor, Greenwich; 16, Windsor, Kingston, Westminster, Greenwich; 17—*June* 23, Windsor with occasional visits to Westminster by Colnbrook and Brentford; 24, 25, Windsor, Greenwich;

[1] *L. and P. of Henry VI.*, 142–3, 148. [2] Rymer, xi. 105.
[3] M. d'Esconchy, *Chronique*, iii. 153.
[4] *L. and P. of Henry VI.* ii. (1), 371.
[5] Rymer, xi. 111. [6] Capgrave, 137.
[7] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 56.
[8] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 128 (*Feb.* 10); Rymer, xi. 155 (*Feb.* 24).
[9] "Piknamwade."
[10] *Proc. of Privy Council*, vi. 61.
[11] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 160. [12] *Ibid.*

26–28, Greenwich, Westminster, Windsor; 29, Windsor, Greenwich; 30, Greenwich, Brentford, Colnbrook. *July* 1, Colnbrook, Brentford, Greenwich; 2–14, Greenwich, Westminster; 15, 16, Westminster, Greenwich, Eltham; 17, Greenwich, Stratford; 18, Stratford, Havering atte Bower; 19, Barking, Westminster; 20–27, Westminster, Greenwich; 28, Westminster, Brentford; 29, Brentford, Colnbrook, Windsor; 30, 31, Windsor. *Aug.* 1, Windsor, Wycombe; 2, Stoken Church, Tetsworth; 3, Islip, Woodstock; 4, Woodstock; 5, 6, Oseney; 7, Dorchester, Ewelme; 8, Reading; 9, Maidenhead, Windsor; 10–15, Windsor; 16, Windsor, Westminster;[1] 17, Windsor, Sonning; 18, Theale, Newbury; 19, Hungerford, Marlborough; 20–27, 28, Marlborough, Bishops Cannings, Potterne; 29, Trowbridge, "Farley" (Monkton Farley?); 30, Bath; 31, Keynsham, Bristol. *Sept.* 1, Sudbury; 2, 3, Sudbury, Malmesbury; 4, Dorchester, Lechlade; 5, Faringdon, Abingdon; 6, Wallingford, Sonning; 7, Maidenhead; 8–12, Windsor; 13, Windsor, Colnbrook; 14, Brentford, Westminster; 15, Brentford, Westminster; 16, 17, Westminster, Greenwich; 18, Westminster;[2] 19–21, Westminster, Greenwich; 22, Westminster, Greenwich, "Welling," Dartford; 23, Gravesend; 24, Gravesend, Greenwich; 25, Rochester; 26, Rochester, Sittingbourne; 27, Sittingbourne, Ospringe; 28, Ospringe, Canterbury; 29, Feversham; 30, Maidstone. *Oct.* 1–19, Westminster; 23, Eltham;[3] 24–27, *Nov.* 3–25, Westminster; 28, Westminster, Brentford; 29–*Dec.* 7, Windsor; 8, Windsor, Westminster; 9, Windsor, Brentford; 10, Westminster; 11, Westminster,[4] Romford, Dartford; 12, Dartford, Gravesend, Rochester; 13, Rochester, Sittingbourne, Ospringe; 14, Canterbury; 15, Ospringe; 16, Ospringe, Sittingbourne, Rochester; 17, Rochester; 18, Rochester, Dartford, Gravesend; 19, Westminster, Brentford, Windsor; 20, Windsor; 21, Windsor, Westminster; 22–31, Windsor.

1448. *Jan.* 1–*Feb.* 13, Windsor, Brentford and Westminster;[5] 14, 15, Windsor, Eltham; 16, Eltham, Windsor; 17–28, Windsor, Brentford, Eltham or Greenwich; 29, Greenwich, Gravesend, Rochester. *Mar.* 1, Sittingbourne, Ospringe; 2, Ospringe, Canter-

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 188. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *L. and P.*, ii. (2) 703.
[4] M. d'Esconchy, *op. cit.*, iii. 175.
[5] Croydon, *Jan.* 11, 15, 19, and Maidstone *Jan.* 1, 7.

bury; 3, Canterbury; 4, Ospringe; 5, Sittingbourne, Maidstone; 6, Cobham, Dartford; 7, 8, Eltham; 9, Eltham, Westminster, Windsor; 10, Windsor, Greenwich; 11, Greenwich, Tower of London, Westminster, Windsor; 12, Windsor, Eton College,[1] Brentford; 13, Colnbrook, Windsor; 14–*April* 10, Windsor; 11, Windsor, Brentford; 12, Camberwell, Eltham; 13, 14, Eltham; 15, Eltham, Westminster; 17, Clapham, Brentford; 18, Brentford, Windsor; 19–28, Windsor; 29, Windsor, Merton. *May* 1, Merton, Windsor; 2–26, apparently Windsor; 27, Windsor, Brentford; 28, Clapham, Eltham; 29–*June* 4, Eltham; 5, Eltham, Waltham (Abbey); 6, Waltham (Abbey), Ware; 7, Buntingford, Royston; 8, 9, Cambridge; 10, Borwell, Mildenhall; 11, Brandon Ferry; 12, Brandon Ferry, Litham; 13, Litham, Walsingham; 14, Walsingham, Dereham; 15, Dereham, Norwich; 16, Norwich; 17, Attleborough; 18, Attleborough, Thetford; 19, Thetford, Bury St. Edmunds; 20, Bury St. Edmunds, Woolpit; 21, Bury St. Edmunds, Mildenhall; 22–30, Cambridge. *July* 1, Cambridge, Royston; 2, Royston, Ware; 3, Ware, Waltham (Abbey); 4, Edmonton, Westminster; 5, Westminster, Brentford, Windsor; 6–17, Windsor; 18, Windsor, Bagshot, Hartford Bridge; 19, Basingstoke, Ashe; 20, Wallop, Clarendon; 21, 22, Clarendon; 24, 25, Shaftesbury; 26, Templecombe,[2] Sherborne; 27–29, Glastonbury; 30, Wells; 31, Chew.[3] *Aug.* 1, Bristol; 2, Bath; 3, Castlecombe, Malmesbury; 4, Malmesbury; 5, Cirencester; 6, Lechlade; 7, Ewelme; 9–15, Windsor; 16, Windsor, Westminster; 17–21, Windsor; 22, Windsor, Westminster; 23–*Sept.* 2, Windsor; 3, Windsor, Brentford; 4, Westminster; 5, Waltham (Abbey); 6, Waltham (Abbey), Puckeridge, Barkway; 7, 8, Cambridge; 9, Huntingdon; 10, Stilton; 11, Wanford, Stamford; 12, Essendine,[4] Grantham; 13, Newark, Southwell; 14, 15, Southwell; 16, "Harow," Retford, Scrooby; 17, Scrooby, Doncaster; 18, Pontefract; 19, Shirborne, "Heyle;"[5] 20–22, York; 23, York, Alne, Topcliffe; 24, Topcliffe, Northallerton; 25, Northallerton, Darlington; 26, Ferryhill, Durham; 27–29, Durham; 30, Ferryhill, Darlington. *Oct.* 9, Beverley;[6] 13, 14,

[1] Document at King's College, *cit.* Willis, *op. cit.*, i. 221.
[2] "Totme." [3] Chew Magna or Chew Stoke.
[4] "Eston."
[5] Healaugh Hall near Tadcaster?
[6] M. d'Esconchy, iii. 210.

York; 15, Sherburn, Pontefract; 16, Blyth; 17, Kettlethorp, Lincoln; 18–20, Lincoln; 21, Navenby, Grantham; 22, Essendine,[1] Stamford; 23, "Mylton;" 24, Thorney; 25, Sawtry, Huntingdon; 26–28, Cambridge; 29, Royston; 30, "Richworth," [2] Luton; 31–*Nov.* 2, St. Albans, Tittenhanger Park; 3, Westminster; 3–*Dec.* 2, Eltham with visits to Westminster and Tower of London; 3, Eltham, Brentford; 4, 5, Windsor; 6, Windsor, Westminster; 7–9, Windsor; 10, Windsor, Brentford; 11, Brentford, Eltham; 12, Eltham; 13, Eltham, Gravesend, Rochester; 14, 15, Canterbury; 16, Ospringe; 17, Sittingbourne, Rochester; 18, Eltham; 19, Eltham, Westminster,[3] Brentford; 20–22, Windsor; 23, Brentford, Windsor; 24–31, Windsor.

1449. *Jan.* 1–14, Windsor; 15, Windsor, Bagshot; 16, Farnham; 17, Alton, Alresford; 18, 19, Winchester; 20, Alresford; 21, Alton; 22, Farnham; 23, Bagshot, Windsor; 24–*Feb.* 9, Windsor and Westminster; 10, Windsor, Brentford; 11, Westminster; 12, Westminster,[4] Kingston; 13, Westminster?, Greenwich; 14–*Mar.* 23, Greenwich, Eltham, and Westminster; 22, 23, Westminster, Sheen; 24, Windsor; 25, 26–*June* 7, Apparently Windsor with visits to Westminster; 19–*July* 15, Winchester; 16, Winchester, Alresford, Holybourne; 17, Holybourne, Farnham; 18, Bagshot; 19, Windsor; 20, Windsor, Staines, Westminster; 21, Kingston, Merton, Sheen; 22, Sheen, Merton, Greenwich; 23, 24, Eltham, Westminster; 25–27, Eltham; 28–31, Eltham, Westminster. *Aug.* 1–11, Eltham; 12, Eltham, Brentford; 13, Brentford, Windsor; 14–17, Windsor; 18, Windsor, Brentford, Westminster; 19, Hackney, Waltham; 20, Ware, Buntingford; 21, Royston, Cambridge; 22–24, Cambridge; 25, Ely; 26, "Wilnate," Brandon Ferry; 27, "Hilberworth," Litham; 28, Walsingham; 29, Dereham; 30, 31, Norwich. *Sept.* 1, Wymondham, Thetford; 2, Thetford?, Bury St. Edmunds; 3, Woolpit, Newmarket; 4, Newmarket?, "Baverham," Barkway; 5, Ware, Waltham; 6, Hackney, Eltham; 7–9, Eltham; 10, 11, Eltham, Sheen; 12, 13, Eltham, Sheen, Westminster; [5] 16–*Dec.* 19, Westminster; 25, Greenwich.

1450. *Jan.* 20–*April* 6, Westminster; 22–*June* 8, Leicester;

[1] "Eston."
[2] Letchworth?
[3] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 220.
[4] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 141.
[5] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 241.
[6] *L. and P., Henry VI.*, ii. (2) 770.

15–18, Hospital of St. John at Clerkenwell;[1] 25, Westminster 28, Westminster,[2] Blackheath,[3] Greenwich, London; 29–*Aug.* 11, Westminster; 18, Brentford;[4] *Sept.* 2, 5, 9, Westminster; 11, Rochester; 16, Maidstone; 21–24, Canterbury; 28–*Oct.* 8, Westminster; 9, Westminster, Brentford; 10–13, Chertsey;[1] 14, Bagshot; 15, Farnham; 16, Alton; 17, Stoke Meon, Bishop's Waltham; 18, 19, Bishop's Waltham; 20, West Meon, Alton; 21, Alton, Farnham; 22, Farnham, Guildford; 23–*Nov.* 4, Sheen; 5–27, Westminster;[5] 28, Westminster, Blackfriars in London;[6] 29–*Dec.* 3, Westminster; 4, Westminster, Blackfriars in London;[7] 5–31, Westminster.

1451. *Jan.* 1–27, Westminster; 28, Westminster, Dartford;[8] 29, Gravesend, Rochester; 30, Sittingbourne, Ospringe; 31, Ospringe. *Feb.* 1–7, Canterbury; 8, Dover; 9, Sandwich; 10, 11, Canterbury; 12, Ospringe; 13, Sittingbourne, Rochester; 14–16, Rochester; 17, 18, Maidstone; 19–21, Rochester; 22, Dartford; 23, City of London,[9] Westminster; 24–*April* 2, Westminster; 3–16, Westminster, Sheen; 17–*June* 10, Westminster, Brentford, Colnbrook or Windsor; 11, Westminster, Waltham; 12–21, Hertford; 22, Hertford, Westminster, Croydon; 23, 24, Croydon; 25, Sevenoaks; 26, Tonbridge, Westminster; 27–30, Tonbridge; *July* 1, "Mavyle;"[10] 2–5, Lewes; 6, Bramber; 7, Arundel; 8–12, Chichester; 13, Southwick; 14, 15, Winchester; 16, Romsey; 17–21, Salisbury; 22, Andover; 23, Newbury; 24, 25, Reading; 26, Maidenhead; 27, Staines, Kingston; 28, Kingston, Eltham; 29, Eltham; 30, Eltham, Dartford; 31, Gravesend, Rochester. *Aug.* 1, Rochester; 2, Sittingbourne, Ospringe; 3–10, Canterbury; 11, Canterbury; 12–16,[11] Canterbury; 17, Ospringe; 18, Sittingbourne, Rochester; 19, Gravesend, Dartford; 20, Eltham, Kingston; 21, Kingston, Sheen, Eltham; 22–27, Eltham; 28, Eltham, Greenwich; 29–*Sept.* 2, Greenwich; 3, Greenwich, Kingston; 4, Kingston; 5, Windsor; 6–8, Windsor; 9, Windsor, Uxbridge; 10–13, St. Albans; 14, Dunstable; 15, Stony Stratford; 16, North-

[1] Jack Cade's rebellion.
[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 272.
[3] *Chronicles of London*, 159.
[4] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 86.
[5] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 210.
[6] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 89.
[7] *Ibid.*, 90.
[8] *Chronicles of London*, 162.
[9] *Ibid.*, 163.
[10] Mayfield or Maresfield?
[11] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 112.

ampton; 17, Market Harborough; 18–21, Leicester; 22–26, Coventry; 27, Kenilworth; 28, 29, Coventry; 30, Kenilworth. *Oct.* 25–*Dec.* 31, Westminster.

1452. *Jan.* 1–*Feb.* 28, Westminster; 28, St. Mary Overey at Southwark;[1] *Mar.* 1, Westminster, Blackheath, Welling;[2] 2, Welling;[3] 3, Blackheath;[4] 4–*Sept.* 4, Westminster; 6, Westminster, Eltham, Sheen; 8–*Nov.* 15, Westminster; 22–27, Reading; 28–*Dec.* 8, Westminster; 10, 12, Canterbury; 16–26, Westminster.

1453. *Jan.* 1–*Mar.* 12, Westminster; *Mar.* 6[5]–28, Reading. The King was apparently at Westminster till the summer, when he went west and was taken ill at Clarendon about the second week in August.[6] He remained at Clarendon till the beginning of October, when he came to Westminster and later to Windsor.

1454. The King during his illness was apparently at Windsor. On his recovery in December he went to Greenwich, where he was on 27 Dec.[7]

1455. *Jan.* 9, Greenwich;[8] *Feb.* 25–*May* 16, Westminster; 20?, Watford;[9] 22, St. Albans;[10] 23[11]–*June* 1,[12] Bishop's Palace in London. *July* 9,[13] Westminster. At the end of July Henry went to Hertford, where he was again taken ill in October; he was removed to Greenwich, where he probably remained till the middle of Feb. 1456.

1456. 1 *Jan.*–*Feb.* 24, Greenwich (?); 25–*May* 21, Westminster; 26, Oxford; 31, Sheen; *June*, 14–*Aug.* 24, Westminster. *Sept.* 2–8,

[1] *London Chronicle*, 1446–52, 298.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 227.
[6] *Chronica Regum Anglicæ* (Giles) gives about the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, *July* 7, as the date of the King's illness at Clarendon. Ramsay (*Lancaster and York*, ii. 166) notes that he was still at Westminster on the 7th, and gives *Aug.* 10 as the probable date. The King, however, seems to have issued documents till *Sept.* 5.
[7] *Paston Letters*, i. 315. [8] *Ibid.*
[9] *An English Chronicle* (Davis).
[10] *Ibid.*; the first battle of St. Albans; the *Chronicle of London* gives the battle on the 23rd and the King to London on the 24th.
[11] *An English Chronicle* (Davies), 71; Whetamstede, *Chron.* i. 171.
[12] Whetamstede, *Chron.*, i. 171.
[13] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 278.

Saltwood; 11, Canterbury; 12, Ford; 24–*Oct.* 11,[1] Coventry; 20, Eccleshall. *Nov.*, Chester, Shrewsbury, Kenilworth. *Dec.* 8–13, Coventry; 14, Thame; 22, 23, Westminster.

1459. The King seems to have continued in the Midlands during the spring and summer. During *Feb.* and the beginning of *Mar.* he was at Coventry. *June*, 7, 10, Coventry; *July* 16, 18, Kenilworth. *Aug.*, Kenilworth. *Dec.* 6, Reading.

1458. End of *Jan*, Abingdon, Westminster. *Feb.* 1–24, Berkhampstead.[2] *Mar.* 17–*May* 27, London, Westminster;[3] 28, Greenwich.[4] *Aug.* 6, Woodstock;[5] 8, Berkhampstead; apparently remainder of the year at Westminster.

1459. *Jan.*, *Feb.*, and beginning of *Mar.*, Westminster. *Mar.* 25, St. Albans.[6] *May* and *June* apparently in the Midlands. *July* 6–25,[7] Coventry. *Aug.* 23, Coventry. *Sept.* 22, Market Harborough; 25, Walsall; 26, Wolverhampton. *Oct.* 9, Leominster; 10, Coventry; 14, Ludlow; 20, Warwick. *Nov.* 20[8]–*Dec.* 22, Coventry; 25, Leicester.[9]

1460. *Jan.* 26, Leicester; 31, *Feb.* 4, Northampton. *May* 19–*June* 26, Coventry; *July* 7, In a tent in Hardingstone Field, near the Abbey de Pratis, Northampton;[10] 9, Between Harsington and Sandiford near Northampton;[11] 16, London;[12] 17, City of London, St. Paul's Cathedral;[13] 18, Westminster; 25, Bishop of London's Palace in London.[14] *Aug.* 8,[15] 9,[16] Canterbury; 14–*Oct.* 29,[17] Westminster; 31–*Nov.* 1, The Bishop's Palace in London[18]; 2–*Dec.* 22 Westminster.

[1] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 290.
[2] Whetamstede, *Chron.*, i. 296.
[3] *Chronicles of London*, 168; Whetamstede, *Chron.*, i., 308.
[4] *Chronicles of London*, 168.
[5] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 296.
[6] Whetamstede *Chronicle*, i. 323 (Easter Sunday).
[7] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 423 (July 13); *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 302.
[8] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 345.
[9] *L. and P., Henry VI.*, ii. (2) 771.
[10] Delivery of Seals to the King.
[11] *Three Fifteenth Cent. Chrons.*, 74.
[12] *Ibid.*; *L. and P., Henry VI.*, ii. (2), 273.
[13] *Three Fifteenth Cent. Chrons.*, 74.
[14] Delivery of Seals to the King. [15] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 461.
[16] *Proc. Privy Council*, vi. 304. [17] *Rolls of Parliament*, v. 373.
[18] *Chronicles of London*, 171; Gregory's *Chron.*, 207.

1461. *Jan.* 5–*Feb.* 9, Westminster; 17, St. Albans.[1] *Feb.*, Barnet, St. Albans, Dunstable. *Mar.* York. *April* 1–5, York;[2] 18, "Corvumbr" in Yorkshire;[3] 25, Scotland;[4] sometime during the remainder of the year Blackfriars, Edinburgh, Linlithgow Castle[5] and Kirkcudbright.

1462. Scotland, *Mar.* 27, Edinburgh.[6]

1463. Edinburgh,[7] Alnwick, Norham, Bamborough, Edinburgh.

1464. *Jan.* 2, Edinburgh;[8] between 3–*Mar.* 30, St. Andrews;[9] 31, Bamborough.[10] *May* 15, Bywell Castle;[11] 16–*Dec.* 31, Westmoreland and neighbourhood, Crackenthorpe.[12]

1465. *Jan.* 1–*July*, Westmoreland, Waddinghall nr. Clithero,[13] a wood near Cletherwood, beside "Bungelly Hyppyngstones;"[14] 24, Islington, The Tower of London;[15] 25–*Dec.* 31, Tower of London.[16]

1466–1469. Tower of London.[17]

1470. *Jan.* 1–*Oct.*, Tower of London;[18] 9, Westminster;[19] 12, Tower of London;[20] 15–*Dec.* 28, Westminster.

1471. *Jan.* 11–*April* 8, Westminster; 10, 11, The Bishop's Palace in London;[21] 13, 14, Barnet;[22] 15?–21, The Tower of London.[23]

[1] Gregory's *Chron.*, 211; the second battle of St. Albans.

[2] *Chronicles of London*, 175. Henry left York after Easter Sunday, April 5.

[3] *Paston Letters*, ii. 7.

[4] Fabyan, 640; Surrender of Berwick Castle to Scots.

[5] *Excheq. Rolls of Scotland*, vii. 49, 60, 62, 80.

[6] Wavrin, iii. 169–170.

[7] *Excheq. Rolls of Scotland*, vii. 145, 211.

[8] *Charters and Documents relating to the City of Edinburgh* (Scottish Record Soc.), 119.

[9] Wavrin, iii. 169–170.

[10] *Ibid.*, 183; Kennedy, *Despatches*, 171.

[11] Fabyan, 654; *Three Fifteenth Cent. Chrons.*, 178–9.

[12] Rymer, *Fœdera*, xi. 575.

[13] J. Warkworth, *Chron.*, 108.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Three Fifteenth Cent. Chrons.*, 80; W. Worcester, 504.

[16] Devon. Issues, 489.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] By word of mouth.

[20] *Chronicles of London*, 134. The 12th is given as the date of Henry's release from imprisonment, but it had probably taken place three days previously, as he had given orders by word of mouth that were enrolled on the Patent Roll.

[21] J. Warkworth, *Chron.*, 123.

[22] *Ibid.*, 124.

[23] *Ibid.*, 124, 131; *Chronicles of London*, 131; Henry was murdered in the night of May 21–22.

II

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

It may be of interest to some to know of what ingredients these strange dishes consumed by our forefathers were composed. Several collections of fifteenth-century recipes have been preserved, notably those published in Warner's *Antiquitates Culinariæ*, from which most of the following are quoted.

To make Viand Royal: "Take a galone of vernage [1] and sethe [seethe] hit into iii quartes, and take a pynte therto and two pounde of sugree, ii lb. of chardekoynes,[2] a pounde of paste-roiale,[3] and let hit sethe untyl a galone of vernage. Take the yokes of 60 eyren [eggs] and bete hom togeder, and drawe hom thurgh a straynour, and in the settynge doune of the fyre putte the yolkes therto, and a pynte of water of ewrose, and a quartrone of powder of gynger, and dresse hit in dysshes plate, and take a barre of golde foyle, and another of sylver foyle, and laye hom on Seint Andrews crosse wise above the potage; and then take sugre plate or gynger plate, or paste royale, and kutte hom of losenges and plante hom in the voide places betwene the barres; and serve hit forthe." At Henry's coronation banquet the Viand Royal was "plantyd with losygnes of golde."

An elaborate *Frytour* or fritter was made thus—

"Take white Floure, Ale, Yeast, Safronn and Salt, and bete alle to-gederys as thikke as thou schuldyst make other bature [4] in fleyssche tyme, and than take fayre Applys and kut hem in maner of Fretourys and wete hem in the bature up on [and] downe, and frye hem in fayre Oyle and

[1] A kind of white wine.

[2] It is suggested that these were either quinces or cardamums.

[3] See below.

[4] Batter.

caste hem in a dyssche and caste sugre ther-on and serve forth."

Jelly was made either of fish or flesh. Thus with fish—

"Take tenches, pykes, eelys, turbut and plays,[1] kerve hem to pecys. Scalde hem, and waisshe hem clene. Drye hem with a cloth; do [put] hem in a pane. Do thereto half vynegar and half wyne, and seeth it wel; and take the fysshe and pyke it clene. Cole [2] the broth thurgh a cloth into an erthen pane. Do thereto powder of peper and safron ynowh [enough]. Lat it seeth, and skym it wel, whan it is ysode [boiled]. Dof the grees clene. Cowche [lay] fysshe on chargeors and cole the sewe [liquor] thorow a cloth onoward and serve it forth."

If of flesh, the same operation was gone through with "swynes feet and snowtes, and the eerys,[3] capons, connynges,[4] and calves fete."

The serving of a *Peacock* was an important matter.

"At a feaste roiall pecokkes shall be dight on this manner. Take and flee [flay] off the skynne with the fedurs, tayle, and nekke, and the hed thereon; then take the skyn with all the fedurs, and lay hit on a table abrode; and strawe thereon grounden comyn; then take the pecokke, and roste hym, and endore [5] hym with rawe yolkes of egges; and when he is rosted, take hym of, and let hym coole awhile, and take and sowe hym in his skyn, and gilde his combe, and so serve hym forthe."

Compost was a decoction kept ready for use, and was thus made—

"Take rote of parsel [? parsley], pasternate of rasens, scrape hem, and waisthe hem clene. Take rapes [6] and caboches [7] ypared and icorne.[8] Take an earthen pane with clene water, and set it on the fire. Cast all thise thereinne. Whan they buth boiled, cast thereto peeres [9]

[1] Plaice. [2] Stain (?). [3] Ears. [4] Rabbits.
[5] Glaze. [6] Turnips. [7] Cabbages.
[8] *i.e.* the turnips pared and the cabbages cut up. [9] Pears.

and parboile hem wele. Take thise thynges up, and let it kele [cool] on a fair cloth. Do thereto salt, whan it is colde, in a vessel. Take vynegar, and powder, and safron, and do thereto. And lat alle thise thynges lye thereinne al nygt other [or] al day. Take wyne greke and hony clarified togider, lumbarde mustard, and raisons, corance al hool;[1] and grynde powdor of canel,[2] powder douce, and aneys hole,[3] and fenell seed. Take all thise thynges, and cast togyder in a pot of erthe, and take thereof whan thou wilt, and serve it forth."

Blank-desire, blank-dessorre, or bland-sure seems to have been usually made thus—

"Take brawn of hennes or of capons ysoden[4] without the skyn, and hewe hem as small as thou may. And grinde hem in a mortar. After take gode mylke of almandes, and put the brawn therein; and stere it wel togyder and do hem to seeth; and take floer of rys and amydon[5] and alye[6] it; so that it be chargeant [stiff]; and do thereto sugar a gode plenty, and a plenty of white grece.[7] And when it is put in disshes, strewe uppon it blanche powder, and thenne put in blank desire, and mawmenye in disshes togider and serve forth."

Mawmenny was a composition on similar lines, with a little meat added, and yolks of eggs and saffron to make it yellow. Blank-desire was sometimes made, doubtless in Lent, with eggs and cheese in place of brawn.

Paste-royal, which formed one of the ingredients of Viand Royal, was, in the following century, made in this way—

"Take sugar, the quantity of four ounces, very finely beaten and searced[8] and put into it an ounce of cinnamon and ginger, and a grain of musk, and so beat it into paste

[1] Currants all whole.
[2] Cinnamon.
[3] Aniseed whole.
[4] Boiled.
[5] The starch of wheat.
[6] Mix.
[7] Lard.
[8] Put through a sieve.

with a little gum-dragon steep'd in rose-water; and when you have beaten it into a paste in a stone mortar, then roul it thin, and print it with your moulders; then dry it before the fire, and when it is dry, box it up and keep it all the year."

Sauces innumerable, of elaborate composition, were used, a different one pertaining to every sort of game. The following curious recipe is also given for *Mylk rost*—

"Nym [take] swete mylk, and do it in a panne. Nym eyreyn [eggs] wyth al the wyte, and swyng hem wel and cast thereto; and coloure yt wyth safron, and boyl it tyl it wexe thykke; and thanne seth [strain] yt thoru a culdore,[1] and nym that levyth [what remains] and presse yt up on a bord; and whan yt is cold larde it, and scher [stick] yt on schyverys,[2] and rose yt on a grydern, and serve yt forthe."

Lastly, a *Sobre sawse* for fish was made thus—

"Take raysons, grynde hem with crustes of brede, and drawe it up with wyne. Do thereto gode powders, and salt, and seeth it. Fry roches, looches, sool,[3] other [or] oother gode fyssh; cast the sewe [liquor] above, and serve it forth."

[1] Cullinder. [2] Skewers. [3] Roach, pike and sole.

III

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